Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

Eikon Basilike

THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAIESTIE IN HIS *SOLITUDES* AND *SUFFERINGS*.

ROM. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

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ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

1. *Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.*

THis last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and necessity of My affaires, then by My owne choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for My Crown, and best pleasing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some yeares, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with My self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redresse all publique grievances in Church and State; I hoped by My (freedome and their moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings, and miscarriages in this: In which as I feared affaires would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should find least of them in My selfe; not

doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-ballancings of any factions.

I was, indeed, sorry to heare, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament, (guiding some mens wel-meaning zeale by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdomes:) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, then My self; who knowing best the largeneſſe of My owne Heart toward My Peoples good and just contentment, pleased My self most in that good and firme understanding, which would hence grow between Me and My People.

All Jealousies being laid aside, My own and my Childreus Interests gave me many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of my Subjects. The onely temporall blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honour and safety, next Gods protection; I cared not to lessen my selfe in some things of My wonted Prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gaine but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but

but Mine enemies also: exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remisness in Church and State had contracted upon my Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Lawes and Regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amisse in practice but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeal to see Religion setled, and preserved in Truth, Unity, and Order, then My self, whom it most concerns both in piety and policy as knowing that, No flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous, then those which make Religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amisse; and to grant what-ever My Reason and Conscience told me was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept My self within those bounds, and not suffered My own Judgement to have been over-born in some things, more by others importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had lesse betrayed My self and My Kingdomes to those advantages which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occasion to do mischief.

But our ſinnes being ripe, there was no pre-
venting of Gods Juſtice from reaping th-
glory in our Calamities, which we robb'd hi-
of in our Proſperity.

*For thou (O Lord) haſt made us ſee, th-
Reſolutions of future Reforming doe not a-
wayes ſatisfie thy Juſtice, nor prevent thy Ve-
geance for former miſcar iag s.*

*Our ſinnes have over-laid our hopes. Th-
haſt taught us to depend on thy mercies to fo-
give, not on our purpoſe to amend.*

*When thou haſt vindicated thy glory b-
thy Judgements, and haſt ſhewed us how unſa-
it is to offend thee, upon preſumptions afte-
wards to pleaſe thee. Then I truſt thy merci-
will reſtore thoſe bleſſings to us, which w-
have ſo much abuſed, as to force thee to d-
prive us of them.*

*For want of timely repentance of our ſi-
Thou giveſt us cauſe to Repent of tho-
Remedies we too late apply.*

*Yet I doe not Repent of My calling th-
laſt Parliament becauſe O Lord, I did it w-
an upright intention to Thy glory, and M-
Peoples good.*

*The miſeries which have enſued upon M-
and My Kingdoms, are the juſt effects of t-
diſpleaſure upon us; and may be yet (throu-
thy mercy) preparatives of us to future bl-
ſings and better hearts to enjoy them.*

O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us

many former comforts; yet grant Me and My people the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy rod as well as thy staffe may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemie, but a Father: when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance which becomes thy Children: I shal have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought Me and My people unfeignedly to repent of the sinnes we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our Peace could be with Our sins O thou soveraign goodness and wisdom, who over-rulest all our Counsels; over-rule also all our hearts; That the worse things we suffer by thy Injstice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our sinnes have turned our Antidotes into Poyson so let thy Grace turne our Poysons into Antidotes.

As the sins of our Peace disposed us to this unhappy Warre, so let this Warre prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdomes here, yet I may attain to that Kingdome of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, & thou wilt give to thy servant (though a Sinner for my Saviours sake, Amen.

2. *Upon the Earle of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him, in the greatest affaires of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a spheare, and with so vigorous a lustre, hee must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My Judgement approve all hee did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his owne disposition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousnesse in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affaires, then in the businesse of that unfor-

unfortunate Earle: when between My owne unsatisfiednesse in Conscience, and a necessity (as some told me) of satisfying the importunities of some people: I was perswaded by those, that I think wished me well, to chuse rather what was safe, then what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men before that inward exactnesse of Conscience before God.

And indeed I am so farre from excusing or denying that complyance on My part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in My Judgement I thought not by any cleare Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret: which, as a signe of My repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinfull frailty, that it discovered more a feare of Man, than of God, whose name and place on Earth no man is worthy to beare, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by act, of so high injustice, as no publique convenience can expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans owne Conscience, thereby to salve State sores; to calme the stormes of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a mans owne bosome.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event

and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man periſh (though unjuſtly) then the people be displeaſed, or deſtroyed.* For,

In all likelyhood I could never have ſuffred, with My People, greater calamites, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocency, at leaſt by denying to Signe that deſtructive BILL, according to that Juſtice, which My Conſcience ſuggeſted to Me, then I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankful importunities with ſo cruell a favour. And I have obſerved, that thoſe, who counſelled Me to ſigne that Bill, have been ſo farre from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been haraſſed, and cruſhed more than they: He onely hath been leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled Me, not to conſent againſt the vote of My owne Conſcience. I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the ſinfull raſhneſſe of that buſineſſe.

To which being in My ſoule ſo fully conſcious, thoſe Judgements God hath pleaſed to ſend upon Me, are ſo much the more welcome; as a meanes (I hope) which his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjuſt Act, (for ſo it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me, That the beſt rule of policy is to preferre the doing of Juſtice,

before

before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conſcience before the preſervation of My Kingdomes.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gaine alike conſent from Me to Acts, wherein my Conſcience is unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed Me, in My Lord of *Straffora*'s Buſineſſe.

Not that I reſolved to have empleoved him in My affaires, againſt the advice of My Parliament but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whoſe Guiltleſneſſe I was better aſſured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him ſo cleare, as after a long and faire hearing to give convincing ſatisfaction to the Major part of both Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the Bill paſſed that Houſe: And for the Houſe of Commons many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh My Lord of *Straffo*'s greatneſſe and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not condemne him to die: who for their integrity in their Votes, were by Poſting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamours *for Juſtice*, (that is to have both my ſelfe and the two

Houſes Vote, and do as they would have us) that many (tis thought) were rather terrifi'd to concur with the condemning party then ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to do.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation ſufficiently tels the world, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loath ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſs & regret I find in my ſoul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in ſhedding one mans bloud unjuſtly, (though under the colour & formalities of Juſtice & pretences of avoyding publick miſchief) which may (I hope) be ſome evidence before God & Man, to all Poſterity, that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſt load & guilt of all that bloud which hath bin ſhed in this unhappy War; which ſome men will needs charge on *Me*, to eaſe their own ſouls, who am, and ever ſhall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly then to loſe my own.

But thou, O God, of thy infinite mercies forgive mee that act of ſinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me then any man. Since I had not the leaſt temptation of envy, or

malice

malice against him, and by my peace should, at least so farre, have beene a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sinne is ever before me.

Deliver me from blood guiltinesse O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousnesse.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evill in thy sight, for thou knowest the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I shall be clean; wash me with that pretious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach mee to learne Righteousnesse by thy Judgements, and to see my frailty in thy Justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans blood to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sinnes, brought upon mee, and upon my Kingdomes, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of State, to goe against my Reason of Conscience, which is highly to sin against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

What

What ever, O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to deprive me of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which ſubjects my will to none, but thy light of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion, which ſhines in my Soul, for Thou deſireſt Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expreſſions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours Bloud, which ſpeakes better things; O make me, and my People, to hear the voyce of Joy and Gladneſſe, that the bones which thou haſt broken, may rejoyce in thy ſalvation.

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3. *Upon His Majeſties going to the Houſe of Commons.*

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the 5 Members, was an act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealouſies and feares; yea, and many of My friends reſented it as a motion riſing rather from Paſſion then Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion, as the touchineſſe of thoſe times required.

But

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought my self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save only a free and legall Triall, which was all I desired.

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure, or revenge against those mens persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawfull correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made, to embroyle my Kingdomes: of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under some mens own hands, who were the chiefe contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so, yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publick peace, which to preserve by calling in Question half a dozen men, in a fair and legall way (which God knows was all my design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to doe Me, and my Kingdom right in case they had been found guilty; or else to have cleared their Innocency, and removed my suspicions; which, as they were not raised out of any malice, so neither were they in Reason to be smothered.

What.

What flames of diſcontent this ſparke (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible means to quench it) ſoone kindled, all the world is witneſſe: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knows, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none that attended Me could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid, or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpeciall in diſcontented times; ſo were my followers at that time ſhort of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at my comming, then I was un-aſſured of not having ſome affronts caſts upon me, if I had none with me to preſerve a reverence to me; For many people had (at that time) learned to thinke thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt Me, both by words and deeds.

The ſumme of that buſineſſe was this.

Thoſe men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater Protectors of their Lawes and Liberties, then my ſelf, and ſo worthier of their protecti-

on,

on. I leave them to God, and their own Consciences, who, if guilty of evill machinations; no present impunity, or popular vindications of them, will be subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunalls.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, we must religiously appeale, as being an argument to us Christians of that after un-avoidable judgement, which shall rejudge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions which I fore-saw, would in all likelyhood follow some mens activity (if not restrained) and so now hath done to the undoing of many thousands; the more is the pitty.

But to over-awe the freedome of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all my designe: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance; and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my witnesse in heaven, and in my Heart: If I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent: or if there were any such wickednesse in my thoughts.

Then

Then let the enemy persecute my soule, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reines, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkenesse, shew thy selfe.

Let not my afflictions bee esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my sin, in that matter: more then their Impunity among good men is any sure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amisse, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies, and open violence of bloody and unreasonable men, according to the uprightnesse of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintaine my right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

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4. *Vpon*

4. *Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischeifes, which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terror) but like an Earth-quake, shaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horrour.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea; so tis no lesse, that he restraines the madnesse of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when hee suffers the confluence and clamours of the vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which tho'e Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour and Freedome of the two Houses menacing reproaching, shaking yea, & assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancyed, or disliked them: Nor did they forbeare most rude and unseemly deportments

both

both in contemptuous words and actions, to My ſelfe and My Court.

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking as an ague; but a quotidian feaver, alwaies encreaſing to higher inflammation, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

First, they muſt be a guard againſt thoſe fears, which ſome men feared themſelves & others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared & leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of mean & rude people, who are taught firſt to petition then to protect, then to dictate, at laſt to cõmand & overawe the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is all freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candour) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacy of men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences muſt be ſubdued, by theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmaticall propoſals againſt Government Eccleſiaſticall or Civill, muſt be backed and abetted, till they prevailed. Generally, whoever had moſt mind to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults: whoſe riot & impatience was ſuch, that they would

would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateneſſe befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Incouragers moſt fancyed.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated and connived at by ſome, countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired, for the Publique good, then obtaine it by ſuch unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens paſſions and Gods directions ſeldome agree; violent deſignes and motions muſt have ſutable engines, ſuch as too much attend their owne ends, ſeldome confine themſelves to Gods means. Force muſt crowd in what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit means to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage,

rage, when ſtrong winds blow upon it, ſo neither for Multitudes to become inſolent, when they have Men of ſome reputation for parts and piety to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſſe moſt formidable, was, that many Complaints being made, and Meſſages ſent by My ſelfe and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſſe could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-ſpread diſeaſe, and predominant miſchiefe.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged, and abuſed, while they knew their only ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery: So inſenſible were they of Mine, or the two Houſes common ſafety and Honours.

Nor could ever any order bee obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh the knowne *Boutefeus*, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have beene wiſer States-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeale & Induſtry; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the Devil who *goes about ſeeking whom he may deceive, and devoure.* I.

I confeſſe, when I found ſuch a deafneſſe, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt foully inſolenſed and aſſaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from My ſelf, could take place for the due repreſſion of theſe Tumults; and ſecuring not only Our Freedom in Parliament but Our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My ſelf not bound by My preſence to provoke them to higher boldneſſe and contempts: I hoped, by my with-drawing to give time both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining ſome degrees of modeſty and ſober ſence.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimity in any man, for popular terrours to deſert his publick ſtation. But I think it a hardineſſe beyond true valour, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threatens imminent danger but to withdraw gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repaire the breach. Certainly, a Gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed, that I meditated a War, (when I went from *White-Hall* onely to redeem My Perſon and Conſcience from violence:) God knows, I did not then think

thinke of a Warre. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by so many former, and some after Acts, have so much weakened My selfe, if I had purposed to engage in a Warre; which to decline by all means, I denyed My self in so many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other for a withdrawing our selves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and discontent might not flie so high, as to worry and teare those in pieces, whom as yet, they but played with in their pawes? God, who is My sole Judge, is My Witnesse in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My House at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but any reasonable faire Quarter. I was resolved to beare much, and did so, but I did not think My self, bound to prostitute the Majesty of My Place and Person, the safety of My Wife and Children, to those, who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunity most capable of their rudenesse and petulancy.

But this busineſſe of the Tumults (whereof some have already given an account to God others yet living know themselves desperately guilty,) Time and the guilt of many hath so smothered up, and buried, that I thinke it best

to

to leave it, as it is; Onely I believe the juſt Avenger of all diſorders, will in time make thoſe men, and that City, ſee their ſinne in the glaſſe of their puniſhment. 'Tis more then an even-lay that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedome of Voting as in all reaſon, honour, and Religion, they ſhould have been; I doubt not but things would have beene ſo carried, as would have given no leſſe content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For, I was reſolved to heare reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it ſo faire as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourſes to publique Councels, turning all into diſorders and ſordid confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to thinke, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the ſad conſequences in all likelyhood, with Gods bleſſing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place: no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But wee

must

must leave all to God, who orders our disor-
ders, and magnifies his wisdome most, when
our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou O Lord art My refuge and defence,
to thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of
the Sea, and the madnesse of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in up-
on me, and are ready to overwhelme me.

I looke upon My sinnes, and the sinnes of My
people, (which are the tumults of our soules a-
gainst thee O Lord) as the just cause of these po-
pular inundations which thou permittest to o-
verbeare all the banks of loyalty, modesty, Law,
Justice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredst the waters into one
place, and madest the dry land to appear, and
after didst assuage the floud which drowned
the world, by the word of thy power, Rebuke the
beasts of the people, and deliver Me from the
rudenesse and strivings of the multitude.

Restore, we beseech thee, unto us, the freedome
of our Councels and Parliaments, make us un-
passionately to see the light of Reason, and Re-
ligion, and with all order and gravity to follow
it, as it becomes Men and Christians: so shall
we praise thy name, who art the God of order
and counsell.

What man cannot, or will not represse, thy om-
nipotent Justice can and will.

O Lord give them that are yet living, a timely ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſinne, whom thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing or not ſuppreſſing thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here, and not ſuffering hereafter be their puniſhment.

Set bounds to our paſſions by Reaſon, to our errours by Truth, to our ſeditions by Lawes duely executed, and to our ſchiſmes by Charity, that we may be, as thy Jeruſalem, *a City at unity in it ſelfe.*

This grant, O My God, in thy good time for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, Amen.

5. *Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: And after setling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.*

THat the world might bee fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience, I could, to the Happy successe of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other designe but the Generall good of My Kingdomes) I willingly passed the Bill for Triennall Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applied) prevent any distempers from getting any head or prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would find worke with convenient recesses for the first three Yeares; But I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more worke then they found to doe, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activity that they wil needs make worke rather then want it; and chuse to be doing amisse, rather then doe nothing.

When

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcanty to ſatisfie ſome mens feares, and compaſſe publique affaires, I was perſwaded to grant that Bill of ſitting during the pleaſure of the Houſes, which amounted in ſome mens ſenſe to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the dore upon all preſent Jealouſies, and future miſtakes: I confeſſe I did not thereby intend to ſhut my ſelfe out of dores, as ſome men have now requited me.

True, It was an Act unparalell'd by any of My Predeceſſours; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extreame confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny My ſelf in ſo high a point of My Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit that My condition ſhould be worſe by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſſe to deſire advantages of doing good, or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weale in tune, by preſerving Lawes in their due execution and vigour, wherein My intereſt lies more than any

mans, since by those Lawes, My Rights as a King, would be preserved no lesse than My Subjects; which is all I desired. More than the Law gives Me I would not have, and lesse the meanest Subject should not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soone repented Me of that setling Act: and many would needs perswade Me, I had cause so to doe; but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in Men of Honour. That the more I granted them, the lesse I should have, and enjoy with them. I still counted My selfe undiminished by My largest concessions, if by them I might gaine and confirm the love of My People.

Of which, I doe not yet dispaire, but that God will still blesse Me with increase of it: when Men shall have more leisure, and lesse prejudice; that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those, (as I think) not more princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happinesse, who are now only miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyal and cleared affections of My people will strive to returne such retributions of Honour, and love to Me, or My Posterity, as may fully

fully compenſate both the acts of My confidence and My ſufferings for them; which (God knows) have beene neither few, not ſmall, nor ſhort; occaſioned chiefly by a perſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much, or diſtruſt too little, to Men, that being profeſſedly My Subjects, pretended ſingular piety, and religious ſtrictneſſe.

The Injury of all Injuries is, That which ſome men will needs load Me withall; as if I were a wilfull and reſolved Occaſioner of My owne and My Subjects miſeries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falſly divulge) I repining at the eſtabliſhment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hoſtility to undoe what by My Royall aſſent I had done. Sure it had argued a very ſhort ſight of things, and extreame fatuity of mind in Me, ſo farre to bind My own hands at their requeſt; if I had ſhortly meant to have uſed a Sword againſt them. God knows, though I had then a ſenſe of Injuries yet not ſuch, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injure My ſelfe by their not uſing favours, with the ſame candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turne them into wantonneſſe; but I thought at length their owne feares, whoſe black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent Spirits

would force them to conjure them downe a-gaine.

Nor If I had justly resented any indignities put upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the people, that I could not have given My enemies greater, and more desired advantages against Me, then by so unprincely Inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Armes. thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly setled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows I longed for nothing more then that My selfe, and my Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many condescendings.

It had been a Course full of sinne, as well as of Hazard, and dishonour for me to goe about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to my Subjects content, and mine owne too in all probability: If some men had not feared where no feare was, whose security consisted in scaring others.

I thanke God I know so well the sincerity and uprightnesse of my owne heart, in passing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may seeme lesse a Politician to men yet I need

no

no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I any reservations in my owne Soule, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that my letting some men goe up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast me down head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, monarchy it selfe, together with me, could not but be dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at length, That as many Kingdomes as the Devill shewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of sinfull ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards a Soule worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdomes.

But God hath hitherto preserved me, and made Me to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their owne passions, either to doe much evil! themselves, or abuse the over-much goodnesse of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfet is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that Act since I have no reflexions upon is as a sin of my will, though an error of too charitable a judgement: Only I am sorry other mens eyes should be evill, because mine were good.

To Thee (O my God) doe I still appeale, whose All-discerning Justice sees through all the disguises of mens pretensions, and deceitfull darknesses of their hearts.

Thou gavest me a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a Heart fitted to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be most conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well the frustratings, as the fulfillings of My best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others feares, I have raised Mine owne; and by setling them, have unsetled My selfe.

Thus have they requited Me evill for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord be thou My Pilot in this darke and dangerous storme, which neither admits My returne to the Port whence I set out, nor My making any other, with that safety and honour which I designed.

Tis easie for Thee to keep Me safe in the love and confidence of My people; nor is it hard for Thee to preserve Me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too many, which thou hast suffered so far to prevaile upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuse My acts of greatest Indul-

gence

gence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from Mee can make others more guilty then My selfe may be, of misusing those many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, hast conferred on Me.

I beseech Thee give Me and them such Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as we may not abuse.

Make Me so farre happy as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of Me, to reflect, with a reforming displeasure, upon My offences against Thee.

So, although by My sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporal blessings, yet I may bee happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest Sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

6. *Upon His Majesties retirement from* Westminster.

WIth what unwillingnesse I withdrew from *Westminster*, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling and victuall, are forced by Sea to a storme yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee shore.

I stayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by shame more than feare; to see the barbarous rudenesse of those Tumults who resolved they would take the boldnesse to demand anything, and not leave either my self, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reason, and Conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression My case alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to bee overvoted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they had used each their own freedome.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reason conclusive to My Judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them My consent, whom they represent not in any kind. Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with

with the will of God, with My just Rights, as a King, and the generall good of my People. I see that as many men they are seldome of one mind; and I may oft see, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate mindes, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all: If some mens Hydropick insatiable ende had not learned to thirst the more by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royall bounty was able to overcome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Councell; when not Reason is used as to men to perswade; but force and terrour as to beasts, to drive and compell men to assent to what ever tumultuary Patrones shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pitty, or redemption, that is content to have the rationall soveraignty of his Soul, and liberty of his will, and words so captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdomes so considerable as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedome; which cannot be denied Me as a King, because it belongs to Me as a Man, and a Christian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to consent,

ſent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which ſubjects Me only to God, ſo farre as by Reaſon or Religion hee directs Me, then live with the Title of a King, if it ſhould carry ſuch a vaſſalage with it, as not to ſuffer Me to uſe my Reaſon and Conſcience in which I declare as a King, to like or diſlike.

So farre am I from thinking the Majeſty of the Crown of *England* to bee bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutiſh formality, to conſent to what ever its ſubjects in Parliament ſhall require; as ſome men will needs inferre; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not aſhamed to ſeek to deprive Me of the liberty of uſing My Reaſon with a good Conſcience, which themſelves and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged not to deny, whatever My ſelf as King, or the Houſe of Peeres with Me ſhould, not ſo much deſire as enjoyn them to paſſe, I think My Oath fully diſcharged in that point by My Governing only by ſuch Lawes, as My People with the Houſe of Peeres have Choſen, and My ſelf have conſented to. I ſhall never think My ſelf conſcientiouſly tied to goe as oft againſt My Conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propo-

falls, which My Reason, in Justice, Honour, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurdity they make their King the onely man, that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to use His own Reason, either in Person, or by any Representation.

And if My dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed out of error, opinion, activeness, weakness, or wilfulness, and what they call Obstinacy in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but some vehement prejudice, or passion hath fixed on my Mind;) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by savage rudeness, and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of His Errour and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot bee blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for Reason: The uprightness of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding: If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can

be

be no fault in him to steere his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weaknesse of their Councells, and Propo-salls. I may, in the Truth and uprightnesse of My heart, protest before God and Men; that I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me, by the two Houses, Further then I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when My Judgement so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in many things where not absolute and morall necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience on point of Honour was to be considered. I chose rather to deny My self, then them; as preferring that which they thought necessary for My Peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for My self.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Interests, and Personall Rights, of which I conceive My self to be Master; but in what concernes Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the generall good of My Kingdomes; (all

which

which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in Me;) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute, nor shal any Man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirme that to Men, which in My Conscience I denied before God. I will rather chuse to weare a Crowne of Thornes with My Savious, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of lead, whose embased flexibleness shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when in stead of Reason, and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flowes from the partialities of private wills and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdomes.

O my God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedome; For this I believe is thy will, that we should maintain: who, though thou dost justly require us to submit our understandings and wils to thine; whose wisdom and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguide us, and so farre to deny our carnall reason, in order to thy sacred Mysteries, and commands, that we should believe & obey rather then dispute them;

yet

yet dost thou expect from us, only such a reasonable service of thee, as not to doe any thing for thee, against our consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoynest us to try all things by the touch-stone of Reason and Lawes, which are the rules of civill Justice; and to declare our consents to that only which our Judgements approve.

Thou knowest, ô Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set me, and whereto the affaires of my Kingdomes at present did call me.

My People can witnesse how far I have been content for their good, to deny My self, in what thou hast subjected to My disposall.

O Let not the unthankfull importunities and tumultuary violence of some mens Immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerous and unmanly slavery, which should make Me set e-gthen them by my consent in those things which I think in my Conscience to be against thy glory, the good of My Subjects, and the discharge of My own duty to Reason and Justice.

Make Me willing to suffer the greatest indignities, and injuries they presse upon Me, rather then commit the least sinne against My Conscience.

Let the just liberties of My people be (as well they may) preserved in faire, and equall wayes, without the slavery of My soul.

Thou

Thou that haſt inveſted Me by thy favours, in the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer Me not to ſubject my Reaſon to other mens paſſions, and deſignes, which to Me ſeeme unreaſonable, unjuſt, and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve thee in the truth and uprightneſſe of My heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee.

Lead Me in the way of Truth and Juſtice, for theſe, I know, will bring Me at laſt to peace and happineſſe with thee; though for theſe I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviours ſake.

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7. *Upon the Queenes departure, and abſence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſe to bee troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her abſence, ſo much, as the ſcandall of that neceſſity, which drives her away, doth afflict Me. That Shee ſhould be compelled by My owne Subjects, and thoſe pretending to bee Proteſtants, to withdraw for Her ſafety; This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Sub-

Subjects, that have taken up Arms against their King, a Proteſtant: For I look upon this now done in England, as another Act of the ſame Tragedie which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adoring of the Proteſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a further alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her from that Religion, which is the only thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not ſuffer theſe practiſes to be any obſtruction to Her judgement; ſince it is the motion of thoſe men, (for the moſt part who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners) and ſo not to be imputed to the true Engliſh Proteſtants; who continue firme to their former ſetled Principles and Lawes.

I am ſorry My relation to ſo deſerving a Lady, ſhould be any occaſion of her danger and affliction; whole merits would have ſerved her for a protection among the ſavage *Indians*, while their rudeneſſe and barbarity knowes not ſo perfectly to hate all Vertues, as ſome mens ſubtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are ſo malicious as to hate Her for He elſe. The fault is, that ſhe is My wife.

All juſtice then as well as affection com-

mands

mands Me, to ſtudy her Security, who is only in danger for My ſake; I am content to be toſſed, weather-beaten, and ſhipwrackt, ſo as ſhee may be in ſafe Harbour.

This comfort I ſhall enjoy by her ſafety in the midſt of My Perſonall dangers, that I can periſh but halfe, if ſhe be preſerved: In whoſe memory, and hopefull Poſterity, I may yet ſurvive the malice of My enemies, although they ſhould be ſatiated with My bloud.

I muſt leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of My good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to puniſh the faults of Princes, and no leſſe ſeverely to revenge the injuries done to Them, by thoſe who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that ſafety, which the Lawes chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vaine expected from thoſe, that diſpute their Loyalty: Nor can it be ſafe (for any relation) to a King to tarry among them who are ſhaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

'Tis pitty ſo noble and peacefull a ſoule ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the rudeneſſe of thoſe, who muſt make up their want of juſtice, with inhumanity, and impudence.

Her ſympathy with Me in my afflictions, will make her vertues ſhine with greater luſtre,

as

as ſtars in the darkeſt nights; and aſſure the en
vious world, that ſhee loves Me, not My for
tunes.

Neither of us but can eaſily forgive, ſin
We do not much blame the unkindneſſe of th
Generality, and Vulgar; for we ſee God
pleaſed to try both our patience, by the mo
ſelfe-puniſhing ſin, the Ingratitude of thoſe
who having eaten of our bread, and being en
riched with Our bounty, have Scornfully li
up themſelves againſt Us; and thoſe of Ou
owne Houſhold are become our enemies.
pray God lay not their ſin to their charge: wh
think to ſatisfie all obligations to duty, by th
Corban of Religion: and can leſſe endure to
ſee, then to ſin againſt their benefactours, a
well as their Soveraignes.

But even that policy of my enemies is ſ
farre veniall, as it was neceſſary to their d
ſignes, by ſcandalous articles, and all irreg
rent demeanour, to ſeeke to drive her out o
My Kingdomes; leſt by the influence of he
examp'e, eminent for love as a Wife, and
Loyalty as a Subject ſhe ſhould have conver
ed to, or reteyned in their love, and Loyal
all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to reve

The leſſe I may be bleſt with her compan
the more I will retire to God, and My own
Heart, whence no malice can baniſh Her. M
enemies may envy, but they can never depri

Me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy my selfe.

Thou O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercy in thy due time, reunite us, on earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly kingdom.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion, (which is my greatest temporall infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seeke, find, imbrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know in order to thy glory our publicke relations, and our soules eternall good, and make us carefull to doe what good we know.

Let neither ignorance of what is necessary to be knowne, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we know, be our misery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandall of those my subjects, which professe the same Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldst have her to learne nor any hardning of her, in any errour thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let

Let mine, and other mens constancy bee an Antidote against the poyson of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I professe, be represented to her Judgement, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceablenesse; which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schisme, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, as Thine; that she may believe, love, and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.

That in the glasse of thy Truth shee may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Sonne Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, and serve thee in all those Holy duties, which most agree with his holy doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience wee have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane Glory, and greatnesse in our scatterings and Eclypses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honours, and perfections, which are only to be found in thy selfe, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

Upon

8. *Upon His Majeſties repulſe at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulſe at *Hull* ſeemed at the firſt view an act of ſo rude diſloyalty, that My greateſt enemies had ſcarce confidence enough to abet, or owne it: It was the firſt overt Eſſay to be made, how patiently I could beare the Loſſe of My Kingdomes.

God knows it affected me more with ſhame and ſorrow for others, then with anger for My ſelfe; nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me ſo much as their ſinne, which admitted no colour or excuſe.

I was reſolved how to beare this, and much more, with patience: But I foreſaw they could hardly conteine themſelves within the compaſſe of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was ſoone after to overſpread the whole Kingdome, and caſt all into diſorder and darkeneſſe.

For tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and diſloyall undertakers: That bad actions muſt alwayes be ſeconded with worſe, and rather not be begun then not carried on, for they thinke

think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave me to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smoother then oyle, but now I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it my best policy with patience to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (thanke God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdaine, or emotion of passion transported Me, by the indignity of his carriage, to doe or say any thing unbeseeming My selfe, or unsutable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think best becomes a Christian, as comming neerest to to the great example of Christ.

And indeed I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian then a King; for what the Majesty of one might justly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excesse injuries a man, more then his greatest enemies can; for those give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwise cannot reach very far, nor doe us much hurt.

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I cannot but obſerve how God not long after pleaded, and avenged My cauſe, in the eye of the world, that the moſt wilfully blind cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome remorſe and fear to own it as a notable ſtroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham*, unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed, by any language or ſecret imprecation of Mine, onely blaſted with the conſcience of his own wickedneſſe, and falling from one inconſtancy to another, not long after paies his own and his eldeſt Sons heads, as forfeitures of their diſloyalty, to thoſe men, from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it ſtrange that they who imployed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſſefull to them, ſhould not finde mercy enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them: For, Apoſtacy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſin.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common weale. The eldeſt Son muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſin of the Father, againſt the Father of his Country: Root and branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was far from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were ſuch as was able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full drought, being executed by them who firſt employed him againſt Me) that I ſo far pitied him; as I thought he at firſt acted more againſt the light of his Conſcience, then I hope many other men do in the ſame Cauſe.

For, he was never thought to be of that ſuperſtitious ſowreneſſe, which ſome men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which ſo darkens their judgement that they cannot ſee any thing of Sin and Rebellion in thoſe means, they uſe, with intents to reform to their Models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but gliſter with a ſhew of Zeal and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and ſo moſt liable to thoſe down-right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impoſe upon themſelves or others.

That which makes me more pity him is, that after he began to have ſome inclinations towards a repentance for his ſin, and reparation of his duty to Me, He ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Juſtice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly

have

have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of Me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but onely prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unprosperous disloyalty, teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraign carries alwaies its own vengeance, as an unseparable shadow with it; and those oft prove the most fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Imployers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower hill*; though 'tis certain that no punishment so staines a mans Honour, as wilfull perpetrations of unworthy actions; which besides the conscience of the sin, brands with most indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartiall reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take

any secret pleasure in it, for as his death hath satisfied the injury he did to me, so let me not by it gratifie any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me, more than the sin against thee.

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I do not, I dare not say, so let mine enemies perish O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend, who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive, who bear most proportion in their offences to those tresspasses against thy majesty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord, lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: Let the lighting of this thunderbolt, which hath been so severe a punishment [illegible] be a terrour to all.

[illegible] them their sin, who know not [illegible] and scare them from their sin,

ſin, that ſin of malicious wickedneſſe.

That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may eſcape the ſtrokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, eſtabliſh the Throne of thy ſervant in mercy, and truth, meeting together; let my Crown ever flouriſh in righteouſneſſe, and peace, kiſſing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who haſt taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy ſake; who haſt prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and haſt ſent thy Son Jeſus Chriſt to die for us, when we were diſpoſed to crucifie him.

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9. *Upon the listing, and raising Armies against the* KING.

I Find that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Me to leave *White-hall*: what Tumults could not do, an Army must; which is but Tumults listed, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recesse hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may as to any outward strength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God will give Me such a measure of Constancy, as to fear him more than man: and to love the inward peace of my Conscience, before any outward tranquility.

And must I be opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince me? O my Soul! be of good courage, they confesse their known weaknesse, as to truth, and Iustice, who chose rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many Acts of Grace I have lately passed, and for those many Indignities I have

have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious KING but by My sufferings? It is a hard and disputable choice for a King, that loves his People, and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after 17 years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Iustice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which might escape; rather through ill counsell of some men driving on their private ends, or the peevishnesse of others envying the publique should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity, I hope, of my self either to injuriousnesse or oppression.

Whose innocent bloud during My Reign have I shed, to satisfie My lust, anger or covetousnesse? what Widows or Orphans tears can witnesse against me; the just cry of which must now be avenged with My own bloud? For the hazards of War are equall, nor doth the Cannon know any respect of Persons.

In vain is My Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so many hands are armed against Me with Swords.

God knows how much I have ſtudied to ſee what Ground of Iuſtice is alledged for this War againſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoon end ſo unnaturall a motion; which (to many men) ſeems rather the productions of a ſurfeit of peace, and wantonneſſe of mindes, or of private diſcontents, Ambition and Faction (which eaſily finde, or make cauſes of quarrell) then any reall obſtructions of publik Iuſtice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be able to avoid and anſwer before God in My own Conſcience, however ſome men are not willing to beleeve Me, leſt they ſhould condemn themſelves.

When I firſt withdrew from *White-hall*, to ſee if I could allay the inſolency of the Tumults, (the not ſuppreſſing of which, no account in Reaſon can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted) but only to oppreſſe both Mine and the Two Houſes freedom of declaring and voting according to every mans Conſcience) what obſtructions of Iuſtice were there further then this, that what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeem ſo to another?

Whom did I by power protect againſt the Iuſtice of Parliament?

That ſome men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryall, (warned by My Lord

of

of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppressors, and Judgers of their Iudges, was from that instinct, which is in all creatures to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Iustice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Iudges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sense with liberty and safety; it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man when the sole exposing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cause could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honour of the two Houses; had they asserted their Iustice against them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Consciences: I know no man so dear to Me, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himself, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whose Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a heigth, for want of timely repressing the vulgar insolencies; that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet

by their suffrages, or presence; the designes of those men who agitated innovations, and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could no but approve their generous constancy and cautiousnesse; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorinesse against the Priviledges and Orders of the Houses; to whom I wished nothing more then Safety, Fulnesse, and Freedom.

But the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in fair and Parliamentary wayes by free deliberations, and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves (by the desperate activity of factious Tumults) to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrary minds to their purposes.

How oft was the businesse of the Bishops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peers, carried for them by far the Major part of Lords. Yet after five repulses, contrary to all Order and Custome, it was by tumultuary instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

In like maner, was the Bill against Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and schismaticall Terrours, which could never passe, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To

To which Partiality, while in all Reason, Iustice and Religion, My conscience forbids Me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I must now be urged with an Army, and constrained either to hazzard My own, and My Kingdoms ruine, by my Defence; or postrate My Conscience to the blind obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater service, than utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolicall, and anciently Vniversall Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other mens judgements bind them to maintain, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it; Mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in My judgement, have also a most strickt and indispensable Oath upon My Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which, most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, most un-beseeming a Christian King, should I ever by giving My Consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, then any hath, or can, befall Me; in as much as the least sinne hath more evill in it then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-episcopall Faction at first in this point, with My consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiasticall Government, and Revenues, to

the

the fury of their covetuousnesse, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in, and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentednes to suffer a present diminution in their Rights, and Honour, for My sake, and the Common-weals, which I was confident they would readily yeeld unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to My Kingdom. That I cannot adde My consent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon My Conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolicall; and so very Sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed with, or destroyed, when what is onely of civill Favor, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Iustice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witnesse, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of a War, being onely such as Iustice, Reason, and Religion had made in My own and other mens Consciences.

After-

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raysing an Army against Me. Wherein I was so far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might seeme to have the advantage and justice of the defensive part, and load Me with all the envy and injuries of first assaulting them) that God knows, I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably and Effectually represſed by exemplary Iustice, and the liberty of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members of either House might with Honour and Freedome, becomming such a Senate, have come and discharged thtir Consciences, I had obtained all that I designed by My withdrawing; and had much more willingly, and speedily returned then I retired; this being My necessity driving, the other My choise desiring.

But some men knew, I was like to bring the same judgement and constancy, which I carryed with Me, which would never fit their designes: and so while they invited Me to come, and greevously complained of My absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible

and

and popular pretext of raiſing an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My ſelfe, and ſo many of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reaſon and Honour, they were as loath to have deſerted, as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate, and firſt drift and deſigne in raiſing an Army againſt Me, is by the ſequell ſo evident, that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them; there was nothing of conſequence offered to Me, or demanded of Me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Iuſtice. But among other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopall, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or eaſily granted by Me, and onely to make up a number, or elſe they were meerly conſequentiall, or acceſſary, after the War was by them unjuſtly began.

I

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noise and shew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearnesse of judgement might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affairs betweene us, when they first raised an Army, with this designe, either to stop My mouth, or to force My consent: and in this truth, as to My conscience, (who was (God knowes) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this War, on My side, I doe not think My Innocency any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addresse My Prayer to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, seest clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy omniscience eternally guides thy unerrable judgement.

O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soule, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider My enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, designe, or preparation to embroyle My Kingdomes in a Civill Warre; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gaine least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witnesse how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirsty of my Subjects blood, as to venture my own Life, which I have been oft compelled to doe in this unhappy Warre; and which were better spent to save then to destroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffred some men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by the Warre, will needs perswade the World that I have raised first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would make me almost suspect my own innocency: Yea, I could be content (at least by my silence) to take upon me so great a guilt before men, If by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeeme my People from this miserable Warre: since thou O Lord knowest my Innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloody and deceitfull men, many of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promised themselves the enjoymen-

joyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counsels.

Save, O Lord, thy servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the people that delight in War.

Arise O Lord, lift up thy self, because of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaseth more and more, Behold them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falshood.

Thou knowest the chief designe of this Warre is, either to destroy My Person, or force my Judgement, and to make me renege my Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driven to crosse Davids *choise and desire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruell) then into thy hands by sinning against My Conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire, : Better they destroy Me, then thou shouldst damne Me.*

Be thou ever the defence of My soul, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but My blood will satisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdomes, or thy temporall Justice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be shed by Mine owne Subjects hands.

But ô let the blood of Me, though their King, yet a sinner, be washed with the blood of My Innocent

cent and peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy Iuſtice will finde not only a temporary expiation, but an eternall plenary ſatisfaction; both for my ſins, and the ſins of my People; whom I beſeech thee ſtill own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeaſed by my Death, O Remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them! O my Father, for they know not what they doe.

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10. *Upon their ſeizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am charged with the firſt raiſing of an Army, and beginning this Civill Warre, the eyes that onely pitty me, and the Loyall hearts that durſt only pray for Me, at firſt, might witneſſe, which yet appear not ſo many on My ſide, as there were men in Arms liſted againſt me; My unpreparedneſſe for a War may well dif-hearten thoſe that would help Me; while it argues (truly) My unwillingnes to fight; yet it teſtifies for me, that I am ſet on the defenſive part; having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend my ſelf, or to preſerve what is mine own from their prorep-

tion.

No

No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purposes, as well as their injuriess who are so much afore-hand in their preparations against Me, and surprisals of My strength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; so overaw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I believe My Innocency, and unpreparednesse to assert My Rights and Honour, makes Me the more guilty in their esteeme; who would not so easily have declared a War against Me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew My chiefest Armies left Me, were those only, which the Ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Prayers and Teares. These may serve a good mans turne, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and surprizing my Castles, Forts, Armes, and Navy, with the Militia, is so farre best for Me, That it may drive Me from putting any trust in the arme of flesh, and wholly to cast my self into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew me the speciall support of his power and protection.

I thank God, I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* so much in reference to My own protection as My Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve Me, I am above My owne, what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolve their riddle of Making Me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I shall become a support to My Friends, and a Terrour to My Enemies, by being unable to succour the one, or suppresse the other.

For thus have they designed, and proposed to Me, the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingship, as without any reality of power, so without any necessity of subjection and obedience: That the Majesty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter, hang like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a magnetique Charme, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an aiery imagination of Regality.

But I believe the surfeit of too much Power, which some men have greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Common-wealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Soveraigne Power in Subjects seldome agreeing with the stomacks of fellow Subjects.

Yet

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought, by satisfying their feares, and importunities, both to secure My Friends, and overcome Mine Enemies, to gaine the peace of all, by depriving My selfe of a sole power to help, or hurt any: yeilding the *Militia* (which is my undoubted Right no lesse than the Crown) to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit, during My time

So willing am I to bury all Iealousies in them, of Me, and to live above all Iealousies of them, as to My self; I desire not to be safer than I wish them and My People, ; if I had the sole actuall disposing of the *Militia*, I could not protect My People, further then they protected Me, and themselves: so that the use of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend My selfe so far, as to be able to defend my good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who conscious to their owne evill merits and designes, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to bee trusted with the custody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught My Subjects, since Power hath been wrested from Me, and imployed against Me & Them! that neither can be safe if both be not in such a way as the Law hath entrusted she publique safety and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of Mine, as to the exer-

exerciſe of the *Militia*, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactory to ſome men; which ſeem to bee Enemies not to Me onely, but to all Monarchy; and are reſolved to tranſmit to poſterity ſuch Iealouſies of the Crowne, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſary Rights, in point of Power; to which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

But here Honour and Juſtice due to My Succeſſors, forbid Me to yeild to ſuch a totall alienation of that power from them, which civility & duty (no leſſe then juſtice and honour) ſhould have forbad them to have asked of Me.

For, although I can be content to Eclypſe My owne beames, to ſatisfie their feares; who think they muſt needs be ſcorched or blinded, if I ſhould ſhine in the full luſtre of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Lawes have inveſted Me: yet I will never conſent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Poſterity, and ſucceediug Kings; whoſe juſt recovery of their Rights from unjuſt uſurpations and extortions, ſhall never be prejudiced or obſtructed by any Act of Mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to ſucceeding Kings, then to My Subjects; whom I deſire to leave in a condition not wholly deſperate for the future; ſo as by a Law to be ever ſubjected to thoſe many factious diſtractions,

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which must needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which as it makes a shew to the People to have more eyes to foresee; so they will find it hath more mouthes too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrosity, that any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counsell may be in many as the senses, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily when men have tryed the horrours and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darkenesse and Eclypse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body, which as the Moone receiveth its chiefest light from Me) they will at length more esteeme and welcome the restored glory and blessing of the Suns light.

And if at present I may seem by My receding so much from the use of My Right in the Power of the *Militia*, to come short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworne for My Peoples protection; I conceive those men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if so it may seeme) who compell Me to take this new and strange way of discharging My trust, by seeming to desert it; of protecting My Subjects by exposing My self to danger or dishonour, for their safety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civill Warre and ad-

advantages of Power cannot be effected but by some side yeilding; to which the greatest love of the publique Peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good conscience) doth more invite Me, than can be expected from other mens fears; which arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successfull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of safety then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak defences against the stroaks of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens owne Consciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For My selfe, I do not think that I can want any thing which providentiall necessity is pleased to take from Me, in order to My Peoples tranquillity, and Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for me; and he is able by his being with Me, abundantly to compensate to Me, as he did to *Job*, whatever honour, power, or liberty the Caldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devill himself can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Armes and *Militia*, all refuge by land, of Forts, and Castles, all flight by Sea, in my Ships, and Navy; yea, though they study to rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive me of my own innocency,

innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obſtruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my ſide, I ſhall have more with me then can be againſt me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I deſire in compariſon of thee: In the loſſe of all, be thou more than all to me: Make haſte to ſuccour me, thou that never faileſt them, that put their truſt in thee.

Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.

If thou delighteſt not in my ſafety, and proſperitie, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me, whoſe Indgements oft begin with thy own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou maye ſt be all.

Thou haſt taught me, That no King can be ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſt; but yet thou canſt ſave me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hoſts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on every ſide, yet be thou on my ſide, and I ſhall

not fear what man can do unto me.

I will give thy Iuſtice the glory of my diſtreſſe.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that perſecute my Soul!

By my ſins have I fought againſt thee, and robbed thee of thy glory who am thy ſubject, and juſtly mayſt thou, by my own Subjects, ſtrip me of my ſtrength, and eclypſe my glory.

But ſhew thy ſelf, O my hope and onely refuge! Let not mine enemies ſay, There is no helpfor him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footſteps ſlip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the ſhadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marveilous loving kindneſſe, O thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand them that put their truſt in thee, from thoſe that riſe up againſt them.

From the wicked that oppreſſe me, from my deadly enemies that compaſſe me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy preſence is fulneſſe of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.

11. *Upon the 19. Propositions first sent to the* KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things, they demand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set My own safety, and My Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save onely the parting with My Conscience and Honour. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable, and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wish Me.

Some things here propounded to Me have been offered by Me; Others are easily granted; The rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon Me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of War; when I have already declared that I cannot yeild to them, without violating My Conscience: 'tis strange, there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon My soul.

Here are many things required of Me, but I see nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour; or any requitall for those favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they do Me, to put Me on

on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot aske more than I can give, may I but reserve to My self the Incommunicable Jewell of my Conscience; and not be forced to part with that, whose losse nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to me, and while I have any Mastery of my Reason, how can they think I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yeilding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of Truth, and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King; as wound that inward quiet of my Conscience, which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me then my Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest he should seem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreasonable demands, or importunities.

But to bind my self to a generall and impli-

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cite consent, to what ever they shall desire, or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Freeman, nor fit to be required of any man, much lesse of a King, by His own Subjects; any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as He doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampson* should have consented, not onely to bind his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes; that the *Philistins* might with the more safety mock, and abuse him; which they chose rather to doe, then quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorne.

Certainly, to exclude all power of deniall, seemes an arrogancy, least of all becomming those who pretend to make their addresses in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who by that sufficiently confesse their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason, to Consent, or Dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me,

in Reason, as a Man, and in Honour as a Soveraign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury to confine my Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whose minds may be as differing from Mine both in Reason and Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which last God and the Lawes have sufficiently distinguisht, making Me their Soveraign, and them My Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man seeks to limit and confine his King in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with Him, or usurp upon Him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Me trust to their moderation, and abandon Mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations some have made of Me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of My own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counsell of others: But yet I am not so diffident of My self, as brutishly to submit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reason in My Soul, and the Majesty of My own Crown to any of My Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce Me fully to submit to all the desires

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of those men, who will not admit or do refuse, and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and others, sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part of) these propounders are; so that, till experience of one seven years hath shewed me, how well they can Govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me, I should be very fooliſh indeed, and unfaithfull, in my Truſt, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of my own, into their hands, whose driving is already too much like *Iehues*; and whose forwardnesse to ascend the throne of Supremacy pretends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be my Counsellours, not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command my Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent me, I expected either some good Lawes, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlayd by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigour and due execution, or some evill customes pre-

terlegall, and abuſes perſonall had been to be removed: or ſome injuries done by My ſelfe, and others, to the Common-weale, were to be repaired: or ſome equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the adventages of My Crown being conſidered by them, might fairly enduce Me to condiſcend, to what tended to My Subjects good, without any great diminution of My ſelf, whom nature, Law, Reaſon, and Religion, bind Me (in the firſt place) to preſerve: without which, 'tis impoſſible to preſerve My people according to My place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiſſe in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerve the foundation and eſſentialls of Governement in both; not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Lawes in force, the wiſdom and pietie of former Parliaments, the ancient and univerſall practiſe of Chriſtian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet and thing offered in lieu, or in the roome of what muſt be deſtroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Inſtitution, and alſo ſupply its pretended defects, reforme its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men, not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeal and ſpeciall pietie,

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but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptinesse and necessitie of such vast alterations.

But in all their propositions I can observe little of these kinds, or to these ends: Nothing of any Laws dis-jointed, which are to be restored; of any right invaded; of any justice to be un-obstructed; of any compensations to be made; of any impartiall reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But as to the maine matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty. I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schismes in the Church, and so, punishable by the Lawes, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themselves, in their vanity, novelty, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Lawes against them: and a totall extirpation of that Governement, whose Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the main; other propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper in which those are wrapped up to present them somewhat more handsomely.

Nor doe I so much wonder at the variety,

and horrible novelty of some Propositions, (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.)

This casts me into, not an admiration, but an extasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgements, free, single, and apart, did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remains in far the Major part of both Houses, (if free, and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption, the Government and the Misgovernment, the Primitive Patterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatality, these men suffer either by their absence, or silence, or negligence

gence, or ſupine credulity (believing that all is good, which is guilded with ſhewes of Zeal and Reformation) their private diſſenting in Judgement to be drawn into the common ſewer or ſtream of the preſent vogue and humour; which hath its chief riſe and abetment from thoſe popular clamours and Tumults, which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite activity of thoſe men, who ſtudied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their Innovating deſignes, the preſent diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little, in My Judgement, of Reaſon, Iuſtice, and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever be backt and ſeconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the ſecond ſhould prevail againſt My Perſon, yet the firſt ſhall never overcome Me, further than I ſee cauſe; for, I look not at their number and power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Iuſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow of thoſe Men, who hunt after Factious, and private Deſignes, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My judgement tell Me, that the Propoſitions

ſitions ſent to Me were the Reſults of the Major parts of their Votes, who exerciſe their fredome, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament: I ſhould then ſuſpect My own judgment, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with ever one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think, there are wiſe men among them: and humility to think, that, as in ſome things I may want; ſo 'tis fit I ſhould uſe their adviſe, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdome ſuch a compleatneſſe and inerrability as to exclude My ſelfe; ſince none of them hath that part to Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honour to preſerve as My ſelfe; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is neceſſary in all natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publique wiſdome, which makes the Laws.

But the unreaſonableneſſe of ſome Propoſitions is not more evident to Me than this is, That they are not the joynt and free deſires of thoſe in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them favour very ſtrong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in My two laſt famous Predeceſſours dayes, heaved at, and

and ſometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments :) But, I am ſure was never wont ſo far to infect the whole maſſe of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kindome; however it diſperſed among the Vulgar : Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taint the Major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and affect ſo enormous and dangerous innovations in Curch and State, contrary to their former education, practiſe, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choyce of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; ſome thirſting after nothing more, than a paſſionate revenge of what ever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt mee, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſire of change to thoſe few who armed themſelves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſſe doth Reaſon, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State command me, to chew ſuch morſels, before I let them downe; If the ſtraitneſſe of my Conſcience will not give me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels, as others doe of Sacriledge, and injuſtice both to God and man, they have no more cauſe to quarrell with me, than for this, that my throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I

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am resolved, That nothing of passion, or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my negative power, shall have any byas upon my judgment to make me gratifie my will by denying any thing, which my Reason and Conscience commands me not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more than Reason, Justice, Honour, and Religion perswade me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will study to satisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never, for feare or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent soever; for this were to nourish the disease, and oppresse the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving mee, that free, and faithfull counsell, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the counsell of that mighty Counsellour, who can both suggest what is best, and incline my heart stedfastly to follow it.

O thou first and eternall Reason, whose wisdome is fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy Servant, first with cleare discoveries of Truth, Reason, and Justice, in My Understanding; then so confirm My will and resolution to adhere

to them, that no terrours, injuries, or oppressions of my Enemies may ever inforce me against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in My Conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be lesse than a Man; and not dare to say, Yea, or Nay, as I see cause; which freedome is not denied to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason, and liberty of speech.

Shall that be blameable in Me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality, and injustice, they deny that freedome to Me their KING; which thou hast given to all Men; and which Themselves pertinaciously callenge to themselves; while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.

Too thee I make my supplication. who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our owne thoughts, and other mens proposalls; which I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by My granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict Me.

O Lord, make thy way plaine before Me.

Let not My own sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happy to please thee, I need not feare whom I displease

Thou that makest the wisdome of the world foolishnes, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits, make me wise by thy Truth, for thy honour, my kingdoms generall good, and my own souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The lesse wisdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdom directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crosnesse, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any feare, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to guiltie, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designs, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirme them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraude the publike of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appears to be for the publike good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure Me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errours, as blast fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every evill

and

and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord make me carefull of those solemne declarations of my minde which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publike, either for woe, or weale.

The lesse others consider what they ask, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine own, and My Peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing; yet Lord, never suffer Me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expense or wast of my Conscience; whereof thou O Lord only art deservedly more Master than my self.

12. *Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland.

THE Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedie to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternall both infamy and misery, whom God shall finde the malicious Authour or instigator of its effusion.

It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against me; that when they had

had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody opportunity ſhould be offered them, with which I muſt be aſperſed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being ſo full of ſinne againſt God, diſloyalty to my ſelfe, and deſtructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be beleeved when they affirmed, that what the Iriſh Rebels did, was done with my privity (at leaſt) if not by my Commiſſion: But theſe knew too well, that it is no news for ſome of my Subjects to fight, not only without my Commiſſion, but againſt my Command, and Perſon too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authority, and for my Safety.

I would to God the *Iriſh* had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt needs be the greater, by how much Proteſtant Principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, then thoſe of Papiſts. Nor will the goodneſſe of mens intentions excuſe the ſcandall, and contagion of their Examples.

But who ever faile of their Duty toward me, I muſt bear the blame; this Honour my Enemies have alwaies done me, to think moderate injuries nor proportionate to me, nor competent tryals, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

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Therefore with exquisite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsity and contempt, with the cup of my Affliction; Charging me not only with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of losse and dishonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reason, and Religion, having least cause to give the least consent, and most grounds of utter detestation) I am represented by them to the world the most inhumane and barbarous: Like some Cyclopick monster, whom nothing will serve to eat and drink, but the flesh and bloud of my own Subjects; in whose common welfare my interest lies as much as some mens doth in their perturbations: Who think they cannot do well but in evill times, nor so cunningly as in laying the *odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive, that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparkes of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fewell for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where despaire being added to their former discontents, and the feares of utter extirpation

tirpation to their wonted oppreſſions, it was eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough, to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome Principles of their Religion, and the naturall deſires of libertie; both to exempt themſelves from their preſent reſtraits, and to prevent thoſe after rigours, wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeale, and uncharitable fury of ſome men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth waſh my hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; ſo I might waſh them in my Teares, as the ſad apprehenſions I had, to ſee it ſpread ſo farre, and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time, when diſtractions, and jealouſies here in *England*, made moſt men rather intent to their own ſafety, or deſignes they were driving, then to the relief of thoſe, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whoſe teare and blood might, if nothing elſe, have quenched, or at leaſt for a time, repreſſed and ſmothered thoſe ſparks of Civill diſſentions, and Jealouſies, which in *England* ſome men moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had been leſſe affected with *Irelands* ſad eſtate then my ſelf; I offered to goe my ſelfe in Perſon upon that ex-

expedition; But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdome quieted; or loath they were to ſhoot at any mark here leſſe then my ſelf; or that any ſhould have the glory of my deſtruction but themſelves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been ſo great, nor the calamity ſo long, nor the remedy ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſin of thoſe, who began that Rebellion, theirs muſts needs bee: who either hindred the ſpeedie ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſticke diſſentions, or diverted the Aides, or exaſperated the Rebells to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all extremies, not onely to the known heads, and cheife incendiaries, but even to the whole communitie of that Nation; Reſolving to deſtroy Root and Branch, men, women and children; without any regard to thoſe uſuall pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breaſts, in behalfe of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive faces, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecilitie for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which prepoſterous, and (I think) unevangelicall Zeale is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who

who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulse or neglect of a few; or like that of *Iacobs* sons, which the Father both blamed and curſed: chuſing rather to uſe all extremities, which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacy, then to apply moderate remedies: ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplary Iuſtice, yet diſarme others, with tenders of mercy upon their ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them, from the fury of thoſe, who would ſoon drown them, if they refuſed to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſome kind of Zeale counts all mercifull moderation, luke-warmneſſe; and had rather be cruell then counted cold, and is not ſeldome more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harme he hath done. The confiſcation of mens eſtates being more beneficiall, then the charity of ſaving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred, and overborne with numbers of now deſperate Enemies) was diverted and obſtructed here; I was earneſtly entreated, and generally adviſed by the chief of the Proteſtant party there, to get them ſome reſpite and breathing by a ceſſation, without which they ſaw no probability (unleſſe by miracle) to preſerve

ſerve the remnant that had yet eſcaped: God knowes with how much commiſeration and ſolicitous caution I carried on that buſineſſe, by perſons of Honour and Integrity, that ſo I might neither incourage the Rebells Inſolence, nor diſcourage the Proteſtants Loyalty and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the beſt ſort, that the neceſſity and difficulty of affaires would then permit, I was then to ſuffer again in my Reputation and Honour, becauſe I ſuffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Proteſtants there.

I thought, that in all reaſon, the gaining of that reſpite could not be ſo much to the Rebels advantages (which ſome have highly calumniated againſt me) as it might have been for the Proteſtants future, as well as preſent ſafety; If during the time of that Ceſſation, ſome men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* ſad condition more to heart; and laid aſide thoſe violent motions, which were here carried on by thoſe, that had better skill to let bloud than to ſtanch it.

But in all the miſconſtructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is falſe, and evill, than love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Iudge but God above me, ſo I can have comfort to appeale to his omniſcience, who doth not

not therefore deny my Innocence, becauſe hee is pleaſed ſo farre to try my patience, as he did his ſervant *Job*'s.

I have enough to doe to look to my own Conſcience, and the faithfull diſcharge of my Truſt as a *King*; I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarmes of reproaches, which iſſue out of ſome mens mouthes and hearts, as eaſily as ſmoke, or ſparks doe out of a fornace; Much leſſe to make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction: who conſcious to their own depth of wickedneſſe, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

'Tis Kingly to doe well, and heare ill: If I can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard to beare the other.

I thank God I can heare with patience, as bad as my worſt enemies can falſly ſay. And I hope I ſhall ſtill doe better than they deſerve or deſire. I ſhould

I believe it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroyle my other Kingdomes are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not-timely ſtopping thoſe horid effuſions of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies pleaſe to ſay, or think) I look upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhauſted out of my own veines; no man being ſo much weakned by it, as my ſelfe;

ſelfe; And I hope, though mens unſatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length ſay to his juſtice, *It is enough:* and command the Sword of Civill Wars to ſheath it-ſelf: his mercifull juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter confuſion, but our cure: the abatement of our ſinnes, not the deſolating of theſe Nations.

O my God, let thoſe infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abuſed, and can never deſerve, ſhould be reſtored.

Thou ſeeſt how much cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Chriſtians, unleſſe we crucifie one another.

Becauſe we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in charity, thou haſt ſuffered a Spirit of Errour and bitterneſſe, of mutuall and mortall hatred to riſe among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.

Let our Repentance be our recovery, as our great ſins have been our ruine.

Let not the miſeries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto ſuffered ſeem ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appear to our conſciences, as they are repreſented in the glaſſe of thy judgements; for thou never puniſheſt ſmal failings, with ſo ſevere afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our ſinnes, and remove thy judgements, which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our ſinnes be ever more grievous to us, than thy judgements; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved; firſt give us the peace of penitent conſciences, and then the tranquility of united Kingdoms.

In the ſea of our Saviours Blood drowne our ſinnes, and through this red ſea of our own Blood bring us at laſt to a ſtate of Piety, Peace and Plenty.

As my publick relations to all, make me ſhare in all my Subjects ſuffering; ſo give me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them, as becomes a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of my People.

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproaches caſt upon me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compaſſion; Give me grace to heap charitable coles of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruell Zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of thoſe flames, which hath ſo much waſted my three Kingdoms.

O reſcue and aſſiſt thoſe poor Proteſtants in Ireland, *whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved.*

And lead thoſe in the ways of thy ſaving Truths, whoſe Ignorance or Errours have filled them with rebellious and deſtructive Principles, which they all under an an opinion, That they do thee good ſervice.

Let

Let the hand of thy justice be against those, who maliciously and despightfully have raised or fomented these cruell and desperate Wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the innocent with the guilty, and the erronious with the malicious; thou that badst pitty on Nineveh *for the many children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousnesse makes them cruell; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore justly cursed.*

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the furnace of thy severe justice, a Posterity which may praise thee for thy mercy.

And deal with me, not according to mans unjust reproaches, but according to the innocency of my Hands in thy sight.

If I have desired or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdoms calamities, If I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloody Distractions; then let thy Hand be against me and my Fathers House. O Lord, thou seest I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my Conscience did not witnesse my integrity, which thou, O Lord, knowest right well. But I trust not to my own merit, but thy mercies; spare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

13. *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their comming.*

THE *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty, with my Father of blessed memory; but also speciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so farre, that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that party, before My owne Interest and Honour. But, I see, Royall bounty emboldens some men to ask, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be farre from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make Me repent of what I granted them for the publique good: I pray God it may so prove.

The comming againe of that party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conforme this Church to their late new Modell, cannot but seeme as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes

flouriſhes for Religion and Liberty) ſave only to confirm the Presbyterian Copy they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloody characters.

Which deſigne and end, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent meanes before the divine Juſtice, I leave to their conſciences to judge, who have already felt the miſery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdome, or that.

Such knots and croſneſſe of graine being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that Forme which they cry up, as the only juſt reformation, and ſetling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches, to goe on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might doe in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergy, through levity, or diſcontent, if no worſe paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but ſeem either paſſion, or ſome ſelfe-ſeeking, more then true Zeale, and pious Diſcretion, for any forraigne State, or Church, to preſcribe ſuch medicines onely for others, which themſelves have uſed, rather ſucceſsfully then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions, will have different operations; That

may kill, one which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and malignant humors in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler Aplications then those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew our religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by faire and equall disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not Force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their designe now, seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equall one: For, it was concluded there, that the *English* Clergy must conforme to the *Scots* pattern, before ever they could be heard what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, then Schollars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Surely in matters of Religion, those truths gain most on mens judgements and consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices;

dices; and is unreasonable to be used, till such meanes of rationall conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemns mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Churchmen in *England*; who being alwayes bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practise, onely becaus that Party of the *Scots* will needs, by force assist a like party here, either to drive all Ministers as Sheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbitery were proved to be the onely institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Governments; yet I beleeve it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of my Kingdoms without my Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles pay'd to the chief Governours of States, where they lived is very clear in the Gospel; but that he, or they ever commanded to set such a parity of Presbiters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour; I think is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a supremacy bee an institution of Christ; sure it differs from all others; and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose effusions runs in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own blood, not violent drawing other mens; sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begunne with the temptations of Covetousnesse or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Army or Commissioners to move me with, by their many Solemne obtestations and pious threatnings, but onely this; to represent to me the wonderfull necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a Warre; which some men chiefly on this designe at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schismes, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunitie, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their wayes by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery

bytery ſeeks to ſuppreſſe, and render odious under thoſe names; when wiſe and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schiſme, and Sectariſme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and ſtill moſt Univerſall way of the Church-government, and ſpecially as to the particular Laws and Conſtitutions of this *Engliſh* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I ſee more Rationall and Religious motives, then Souldiers uſe to carry in their Knapſacks.

But wee muſt leave the ſucceſſe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having firſt taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our paſſion) to teach us thoſe rules of true Reaſon, and peaceable Wiſdome, which is from above, tending moſt to Gods glory and his Churches good; which I think my ſelf ſo much the more bound in conſcience to attend, with the moſt judicious *Zeale* and care, by how much I eſteem the Church above the State, the glory of Chriſt above mine Own; and the ſalvation of mens ſoules above the preſervation of their Bodies and Eſtates.

Nor may any men, I think, without ſinne and preſumption, forcibly endeavour to caſt the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and faſhioned to their deſignes, till they have firſt gained

my conſent, and reſolved, both my own and other mens Conſcience by the ſtrength of their Reaſons.

Other voilent motion, which are neither Manly, Chriſtian, nor Loyall; ſhall never either ſhake or ſettle my Religion; nor any mans elſe, who knows what Religiō means: And how far it is removed from all Faction whoſe proper engine is force; the arbitrator of beaſts, not of reſonable men, much leſſe of humble Chriſtians, and Loyall Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have ſuch high conceits of themſelves, that they care not what coſt they lay out upon their opinions; eſpecially thoſe that have ſome temptation of gain, to recompence their loſſes and hazards.

Yet I was not more ſcandalized at the *Scots* Armies comming in againſt my will, and their forfeiture of ſo many Obligations of duty, and gratitude to me: then I wondred, how thoſe here, could ſo much diſtruſt Gods aſſiſtance; who ſo much pretended Gods Cauſe to the People, as if they had the certainty of ſome divine Revelation; conſidering they were more then competently furniſhed with my Subjects Arms and Ammunition, my Navy by Sea, my Forts, Caſtles and Cities by Land.

But

But I finde, that men jealous of the juſtifiableneſſe of their doings and deſigns before God, never think they have humane ſtrength enough to carry their work on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People; what cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with power.

And yet ſuch is the incõſtancy that attends all minds engaged in a violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come into their aſſiſtance; others of them ſoon after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Party thought to river to a ſetlednes by the ſtrẽgth and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk Government, & Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargable, more then charitable aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happineſſe of reformed Government & Diſcipline (if it had been wantiug) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendom for their advice in a full and free Synod; which I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods juſtice, and mans folly will at length be diſcovered, through all the ſilmes;

filmes and pretenſions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their deſignes; In vaine do men hope to build their piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can thoſe conſiderations or deſigns be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never deſerted Me, ſo I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo far from me, in a prodigality of their love and reſpects toward me, as to make mee to deſpaire of their return; when beſides the bonds of Nature and Conſcience, which they have to mee, all Reaſon and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſts in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their ſerviceableneſſe to any Party of the People, to neglect and betraying of My Safety and Honour for their own advantages: However the leſſe cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhall apply my ſelf to God.

The Troubles of my Soule are enlaged, O Lord, bring thou me out of My diſtreſſe.

Lord direct thy Servant in the ways of that pious ſimplicity, which is the beſt policy.

Deliver Me from the combined ſtrength of thoſe, who have ſo much of the Serpents ſubtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not

pre-

prevaile againſt my Soule, to the betraying of my Conſcience and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canſt turn the hearts of thoſe Parties in both Nations, as thou didſt the men of Judah *&* Iſrael, *to reſtore* David *with as much loyall zeale, as they did with inconſtancie and eagerneſſe purſue him.*

Preſerve the love of thy Truth and uprightneſſe in Mee, and I ſhall not deſpaire of My Subjects affections returning towards mee.

Thou canſt ſoon cauſe the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back againe to the bounds which thou haſt appointed for them.

O My God I truſt in thee; let me not be aſhamed; let not my enemies triumph over Mee.

Let them be aſhamed who tranſgreſſe without a cauſe; let them be turned back that perſecute my Soule.

Let integrity and uprightneſſe preſerve me, for I wait on thee O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

14. *Upon*

14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THE *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Soules to them, by a Solemne Leagve and Covenant:

Where many engines of religious and fair pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or raise Episcopacy. This they make the grand evill Spirit, which, with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemn a charme and exorcisme be cast out of this Church, after more than a thousand yeeres possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universall prescription of time and practise in all other Churches since the Apostles times till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it, Presbytery, like a yong Heire, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, & impatient not to be in the Bishops chair & authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenus) all art is used to sink Episcopacy, & launch Presbytery in *England*; which was lately Boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although

Although I am unſatisfied with many paſſages in that Covenāt(ſome referring toMy ſelf with very dubious & dangerous limitations(yet I chiefly wonder at the deſign and drift touching theDiſcipline &Government of the Church; and ſuch a manner of carrying them on to new wayes,by Oaths & Covenāts, where it is hard for men to be engaged byno leſſe,then ſwearing for,or againſt thoſe things, which are of no cleare morall neceſſity;but verydiſputable,and controverted among learned and godly men : wherto the application ofOaths can haidly be made and enjoyned with that judgment&certainty in ones ſelf, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion,as I think religion requires,which never refuſes fair and equable deliberations ; yea, and diſſentings too,in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning ofOaths upon People muſt needs in things doubtful be dangerous,as in things unlawfull,damnable;and no leſſe ſuperfluous,where former religious and legal Engagements,bound men ſufficiently,to all neceſſary duties.Nor can I ſee how they wil reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath &Covenant,with their former Proteſtation which was ſo lately taken,to maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed in theChurch of *England*;ſince they count Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But

But ambitious minds never think they have laid ſnares and ginnes enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by ſuch politicke and ſeemingly pious ſtratagems, they think to keep the populacy faſt to their Parties under the terrour of perjury: Whereas certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelves ſufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegience, and lawes, to God and man.

Nor can ſuch after-Contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few men in a declared Party, without My conſent, and without any like power or preſident from Gods or mans laws, be ever thought by judicious men ſufficient either to abſolve or ſlacken thoſe morall and eternall bonds of duty which lie upon all My Subjects conſciences both to God and Me.

Yet as things now ſtand, good men ſhall leaſt offend God or Mee. by keeping their Covenant in honeſt and lawfull waies; ſince I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenant in ſuch mens intentions, was, to preſerve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then ſuch ends and meanes they cannot think themſelves engaged; nor will thoſe, that have any true touches of Conſcience endeavour to carry on the beſt deſignes, (much leſſe ſuch as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by

by any unlawfull meanes, under that title of the Covenant: unleſſe they dare preferre ambiguous, dangerous and un-authorized novelties, before their knowne and ſworne duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and My ſelfe.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firme to this judgment, That ſuch later Vowes, Oaths, or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings, and characters, which by juſt and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Soules.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of ſolemn Leagues and Covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, That they are the common road, uſed in all factious and powerfull pertubations of State or Church: When formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then, when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſignes againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion, and Laws, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſenſible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practiſe, to comply with the humours of thoſe men, who ayme to ſubdue all to their owne will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Conſciences no longer, then force attends

and

and twiſts them: for every man ſoon grows his own Pope, and eaſily abſolves himſelf of thoſe ties, which, not the commands of Gods Word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the ſubtilty and terrour of a Party caſts upon him; either ſuperfluous and vain when they were ſufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by ſuch after-ligaments they finde the Impoſers really ayming to diſſolve, or ſuſpend their former juſt and neceſſary obligations.

Indeed ſuch illegall ways ſeldom or never intend the engaging men more to duties, but only to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Deſign intended.

I ſee the Impoſers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and reliſh, who will but ſwallow it: They admit any mens ſenſes of it, the divers or contrary; with any ſalvoes, cautions and reſervations, ſo as they croſſe not their chief Deſign, which is laid againſt the Church and Me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming encreaſe to their Party; ſo little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In ſuch latitudes of ſenſe, I beleeve many that

that love Me, & the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly & superstitiously taken by it, as now to act cleerly against both all piety and loyalty: who first yeelded to it, more to prevent that iminent violence & ruine, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, then for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some generall Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may*, in *their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience, which are certain fixed either in Gods Laws, as to the Generall; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: surely it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it; which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at first to enjoyn it, it shall actually be carried on beyond & against those ends which were in it specified & pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep

it

it within such bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My self, or the Publique Peace: Against which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partiall advise of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgements, profession, and practise) such foule scandals and suspitions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home: all whose judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward then My self to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartiall advise) be, by Gods Word, and right reason convinced to be amisse, I have offered more then ever the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequel of some mens actions makes it evident, that the maine Reformation intended, is the abasing of Episcopacy into Presbytery,

bytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no man have been more injuriously used, as to their legall Rights then the Bishops, and Church-men. These, as the fattest Deare, must be destroyed; the other Rascal-herd of Schismes, Heresies, &c. being leane, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vine-yard made him the onely Blasphemer of his Citie, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the Sailes, Profit is the Compasse, by which Factious men steer their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no men lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crowne, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crowne with My Consent) so I have alwayes had such a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soule, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predecessours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bounty.

But no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands, which

which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Joseph's* true piety abhorred to do: So unjust I think it both in the eye of Reason & Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due incouragements; & like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encrease the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have done, to the red Sea of a Civill War, where nothing but a miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteems it His greatest Title to be called, and His chiefest glory to be *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its just fruitions; equally abhorring Sacriledge and Apostacy.*

I had rather live as my Predecessour *Henry* the 2. sometime did, on the Churches alms, then violently to take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* reformation, consecrating the meanest of the people to be Priests in *Israel*, to serve those Golden *Calves* who have enriched themselves wth the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; wch how it thrived both wth Prince, Priests & people, is well enongh known: And so it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nursing Fathers & Mothers of this Church, it shall be at their allowance, who have already discovered, what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will be.

If

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuſe the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as pray God to prevent thoſe ſad conſequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Miniſters, both in Church and State; ſince I think it no leſſe then a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs whoſe occaſions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans ſin not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

There are ways enough to repair the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not be an Oppreſſor of the other under the pretence of publike Debts: The occaſions contracting them were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them would be much worſe; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be acceſſary to either.

To thee, O Lord, doe I addreſſe My Prayer, beſeeching thee to pardon the raſhneſſe of my Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their ſenſe and obſervation of thoſe juſt, morall, and indiſpenſable bonds, which thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Conſciences; From which no pretenſions of Piety and Reformation

formation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacriledge under the zeale of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not ſacrilegious deſignes to have the countenance of religious ties.

Thou haſt taught us by the wiſeſt of Kings, that it is a ſnare to take things that are holy, and after Vows to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from conſenting to perjurious and ſacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curſe to all poſterity of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treaſures are Exhauſted, My Revenues Diminiſhed, and My Debts Encreaſed, yet never ſuffer Me to be tempted to uſe ſuch profane Reparations; leſt a coal from thine Altar ſet ſuch a fire on My Throne and Conſcience as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publique, which ſome mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occaſion to impoveriſh thy Church.

The State may ſoon recover, by thy bleſſing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in

times,

times, where the Charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberall.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donors, and the justice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poore; That thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousnesse, and the poore may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured neither digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouths, rottennesse to their names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandyed together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour my righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

15. *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the* KING, *to stir up the People against Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency, & Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppresse the Truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Reall causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these Designes: For, I can more willingly loose My Crowns, than My Credit; nor are my Kingdoms so dear to Me, as My Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with My life; but these may survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Posterity.

Those foul and false aspersions were secret engins at first employed against My Peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their loyaltie.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment

of My Honor is not so afflictive to Me, as the sin and danger of My peoples souls, whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soon mis-led into the most desperate precipices of actions: wherin they do not onely, not consider their sin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Destroyers; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honour their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pity was above My anger; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Me, as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errors more than their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the charity to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed Errors, not My Person; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errors, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved Me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared Me, both to do him better service, and My people more good, than hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their se-

ductions, which occasioned their loyall injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspitions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affections toward the generality of my people, to suspect theirs to Me; nor shal the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I shall never gratifie the spightfulnes of a few with any siniſter thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can doe, shall never perswade Me, to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subjects actions; who possibly may be Erroneous, but not Hereticall in point of Loyalty.

The sense of the Injuries done to my Subjects is as sharp, as those done to My self; our welfares being inseparable; in this only they suffer more then My self, that they are animated by some seducers to injure at once both themselves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that my afflictions grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraigne Eenemies, I could have born it; but they must be My own Subjects, who are next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the restoring of whose tranquillity, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently foresee, that by the divided Interest of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds the storm of their miseries would be rather increased then allayed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruin then Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion, which is but My Right, as of their happines; if it could expiate, or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt injuries of Subjects committed againſt their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die many deaths, then shamefully to desert, or dishonourably to betray My own just Rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of My Enemies; between whose malice, and other mens mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leprosie of Disloyaltie.

As liars need have good memories, so Malicious persons need good inventions; that

their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) wil better serve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, then My leisure to answer the many false Aspersions which some men have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subjects Satisfaction, then My own Vindication; I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see Me take notice of, or remember what they say, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be punished by their own evil manners, and seared consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandals, which they have cast on Me; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or civility, (I need not say loyalty) in the not-suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same fornace of popular obloquy, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honour.

First, nothing gave Me more cause to suspect,

ſpect, and ſearch My own Innocency; then when I obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt Me, who had made great profeſſions of ſingular piety; For this gave to vulgar minds ſo bad a reflection upon Me, and My Cauſe, as if it had been impoſſible to adhere to Me, and not withall part from God; to think or ſpeak well of Me, and not to Blaſpheme him; ſo many were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo wel ſatisfied in the cauſe of My ſufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with Me, then forſake Me.

Nor is it ſtrange that ſo religious Pretenſions as were uſed againſt Me, ſhould be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe Me; Eſpecially, being urged by ſuch popular Preachers, as think it no ſin to lie for God, and what they pleaſe to call Gods Cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſſe of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſſe of the means uſed, nor the depth of the miſ-

cheif, chiefly plotted and intended. The weaknes of these mens judgments must be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of some mens Religion to scandalize Me and Mine, they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down Mine as false.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the constancy of my Religion in the Protestant profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception, I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedness in that Religion, whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture, & Antiquity, will not give My Conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon Me, and My People.

Contrary to those well tried foundations both of truth, and order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have setled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments in the most calm, and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I shall ever, by Gods help, persevere, in beleeving it hath most of Primitive truth in Order.

Nor

Nor did my using the assistance of some Papists, which were my Subjects, any way fight against My Religion, as some men would needs interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they said, and did, so they might prevaile.

Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, that differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the tameneſſe of duty, Allegianee, and subjection. The first they own as men, and Christians to God; the second, they owe to Me in Common, as their *King*; different professions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civill Trades) take away the community of relations either to parents, or to Princes: And where is there such an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service (who find most fault with me) without any scruple, as to the diversity of their Sects and Opinions.

It was indeed, a foule and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to inforce Me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend My self.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King, in such exigents to use the aide of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Professours; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in Me (and very pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no lesse then their prayers as Christians.

The noise of My Evill Counsellours was another usefull device for those, who were impatient any mens counsels but their own, should be followed in Church or State; who were so eager in giving Me better counsel that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man; or honour as a King; making their councels more like a drench that must be powred down, than a draught which might be fairly and leisurely dranke, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errours and frailties My self, or My Councellours: They might be subject to some miscarri-

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ges, yet such as were far more reparable by second and better thoughts, than those enormious extravagances, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last wil make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worst councels, that My worst Councellours ever had the boldnes to offer Me, or My self any inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot or will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either Me, or My Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, than I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thougt I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorry to see me prone even to injure My self, out of a Zeal to relieve my Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractations, or Concessions; and withall, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecuters) both

of

of the comfort and reward of their former pretended perſecutions, wherein they ſo much gloried among the vulgar; and which indeed, a truly humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crown of Chriſtian Patience, which attends humble and injured ſufferers.

Another artifice uſed to withdraw My peoples affections from Me, to their deſigns was, the noiſe and oſtentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to deſire, then unapt to bear in the popular ſenſe; which is to do what every man liketh beſt.

If the Divineſt liberty be to will what men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will, according to Reaſon, Laws, and Religion; I envie not My Subjects that liberty, which is all I deſire to injoy My ſelf; So far am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords & Gentlemen which aſſiſted Me ſo prodigal of their liberties as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the inſlaving of themſelves and their poſtericies.

As to Civil Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their ambitious and covetous deſigns over the ruins of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever deſire greater Freedomes then the Laws allow; whoſe bounds good men count their

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Ornament and Protection; others their Menacles and Oppreſſion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth his rule and direction; loſing juſtly his ſafety while he ſeeks an unreaſonable liberty.

Time will beſt inform My Subjects, that thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true liberty, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſnes againſt, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow-ſubjects liberties, who have the hardines to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints; againſt all Laws, both Divine and Humane, under which, yet, I will rather periſh, then to complain to thoſe, who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph, but ſuch muſick.

In point of true conſcientious tenderneſſe (attended with humility and meeknes, not with proud & arrogant activity, which ſeeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſme) I have oft declared, how little I deſire My Laws and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Soveraignty, which is the only King of mens Conſciences; and yet he hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to be ſubject for Conſcience

Conſcience ſake, giving no men liberty to break the Law eſtabliſhed, further then with meeknes and patience, they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publick Peace.

The truth is, ſome men thirſt after Novelties, others deſpair to relieve the neceſſities of their fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the ſecret (but principal) impulſives to theſe popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentiful eſtates they got, and enjoyed under My government, in peaceable times; which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and My ſelf expoſed to all thoſe contempts, which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and increaſe the ungrateſull inſolencies of My People.

For Mine Honour, I am well aſſured, that as Mine Innocency is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object; ſo My reputation ſhall like the Sun (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times) riſe and recover it ſelf to ſuch a degree of ſplendour, as thoſe ſerall birds ſhall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes

more

more glorious than those whom God hath sufferd to be tried in the fornace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects.

And who knowes but the just and mercifull God will do Me good, for some mens hard false, and evill speeches against Me; wherein they speak rather what they wish, than what they believe, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honor, by those rude & scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up & down to set all places on like flames) than those men do, who pretending to so much piety, are so forgetful of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majesty of their *King* against any of those, who conrary to the precept of God, & precedents of Angels, *speak evill of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those* who are honoured with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing *God*, should not Honour their *King*.

They will easily contemn such shadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom all the glory of Men & Angels is but obscurity; yet hath he graven such Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shal their black veiles be able

shi-

ſhining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone are all the traditions of true glory and majeſty.

Thou O Lord knoweſt My reproach, and My diſhonour, My Adverſaries are all before thee.

My Soule is among Lyons, among them that are ſet on fire, even the Sons of Men; whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows; their tongue a ſharp ſword.

Mine enemies reproach me all the day long, and thoſe that are mad againſt Me are ſworne together.

O My God, how long ſhall the ſonnes of men turn my glory into ſhame? how long ſhall they love vanity, and ſeek after lies?

Thou haſt heard the reproaches of wicked men on every ſide. Hold not thy peace, leſt my Enemies prevaile againſt me, and lay mine Honour in the duſt.

Thou, O Lord, ſhalt deſtroy them that ſpeak lies; the Lord will abhorre both the blood-thirſty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteouſneſſe to appeare as the light, and mine innocency to ſhine forth as the Sun at noon day.

Suffer not my ſilence to betray mine innocence, nor my diſpleaſure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being curſed by them, I may bleſſe them.

Thou

Thou that wouldſt not ſuffer Shimeis *tongue to go unpuniſhed; when by thy judgements on* David *he might ſeem to juſtifie his diſdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for theſe my enemies, that the reward of falſe and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire may not be brought upon them.*

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to coole and quench their tongues, who are already ſet on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with thoſe malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to ſilence their evill ſpeaking by well doing; and let them injoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids *patience and* Hezekiahs *devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and ſee thy juſtice in their ſin.*

Let Shebas *ſeditious ſpeeches,* Rabſhekahs *railing, and* Shimeis *curſing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, ſo thy renewed bleſſing toward me.*

Though they curſe, do thou bleſſe, and I ſhall be bleſſed; and made a bleſſing to my people.

That the ſtone, which ſome builders refuſe, may become the head ſtone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and ſave me, from the reproach of them that would ſwallow me up.

Hide me in the ſecret of thy preſence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the ſtrife of tongues.

16. *Upon*

16. *Upon the Ordinance againſt the Common-Prayer-Book.*

IT is no news to have al Innovations uſhered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by thoſe, who ſeeking to gain reputation with the vulgar for their extraordinary parts, and piety, muſt needs undo whatever was formerly ſetled never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudie Novelties, allow former times any ſhare or degree of wiſdom or godlineſſe.

And becauſe matter of prayer & devotion to God juſtly bears a great part in religion, (being the Souls more immediate converſe with the divine Majeſty) nothing could be more plauſible to the people than to tell them, They ſerved God amiſſe in that point.

Hence our publique Liturgy, or Forms of conſtant Prayers muſt be (not amended, in what upon free and publique advice might ſeem to ſober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent, but) wholly caſhiered, and aboliſhed, and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and thoſe that uſed it according to their Conſciences, and the Laws in force, it muſt be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to pleaſe either thoſe men, who gloried

ried in their extemporary vein and fluency: or others, who conscious to their own formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, therby to excuse the deadnesse of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of these, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set & prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsom words being known and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well-composed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the Constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulnesse.

I could never see any reason, why any Christian

ſtian ſhould abhorre, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame Forms of prayer, ſince he praies to the ſame God, believes in the ſame Saviour, profeſſeth the ſame truths, reads the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame duties upon him, and feels the ſame daily wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what ſenſe; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? our appetite and diſgeſtion too may be good when we uſe, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men, I heare are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their devotions their own invention, and gifts, that they not only diſpiſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall pattern of all ſet Liturgies, in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expreſſions in publique prayer, or any ſacred adminiſtrations, merits a greater brand of ſin, than that which they call coldnes and barrennes: nor are men in thoſe novelties leſſe ſubject to formall and ſuperficiall tempers (as to their hearts)

hearts) than in the use of constant forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame. I make no doubt but a man may be very formal in the most extempory variety; and very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of variety, than of constancy: Nor are constant formes of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of prayer, and devotion, than un-premeditated and confused variety to distract, and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discret, & humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publiq ie. the better to fit, & excite their own, & the Peoples affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessity why private & single abilities should quite justle out and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities & concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; such as the Composers of the Service Book were; who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts & graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation & concurrent advice, such Forms of prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers understanding, & stirre up that fiduciary and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consits the very life & soul of prayer, and that so much pretended Spirit of prayer) than

than any private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have; which, what they are manytimes (even there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptines, impertinency, rudenes, confuſions, flatnes, levity, obſcurity, vain, and rediculous repetitions, the ſenſleſſe, and oftimes blaſphemous expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince al men but thoſe who glory in that phariſaick way.

Wherin men muſt be ſtrangely impudent, & flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and the Church, after ſo rediculous, and indeed, prophane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill the ſame; Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own forms conſtantly, which are not like to be ſo ſound, or comprehenſive of the nature of the duty, as forms of publick compoſure; or elſe they muſt every time affect new expreſſions when the ſubject is the ſame; which can hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatnes, order, and gravity, becoming thoſe duties; which by

by this meanes are expoſed at every celebration to every Miniſters private infirmities, indiſpoſitions, errors, diſorders, & defects, both for judgement and expreſſion.

A ſerious ſenſe of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans ſeverall manner of officiating, no doubt, firſt occaſioned the wiſdom and piety of the ancient Churches, to remedy thoſe miſchiefs by the uſe of conſtant Liturgies of publick compoſure.

The want of which I believe this Church will ſufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens ungoverned ignorance and confident defects, ſhall be diſcovered in more errors, ſchiſmes, diſorders, & uncharitable diſtractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity.

However, if violence muſt needs bring in, and abett thoſe innovations, (that men may not ſeem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reaſon, and Religion forbids, at leaſt to be ſo obtruded, as wholly to juſtle out the publick Liturgie.

Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt and partiall ſeverity of thoſe men, who either lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed & maintained the Service-book; or refuſed to uſe it, cried out of the rigour of Laws & Biſhops, which ſuffered them not to uſe the liberty

of

of their Conſcience, in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Lyturgy into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint & obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, fit words: (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain which wil ſerve to delude the vulgar).

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity as not to ſuffer without penalty, any to uſe the Common-prayer-book publickly, although their conſciences bind them to it, as a duty of piety to God, and obedience to the Laws. Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, & more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegal novelties, then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawfull Conſtitutions; & whoſe licentious humours moſt pretended Conſcientious liberties, which freedom, with much regret they now allow to Me, and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to ſerve Me, whoſe abilities, even in their extemporary way comes not ſhort of the others, but their modeſty and learning far exceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature, as ſome men knew it would not bear learned & ſober debates, leſt being convinced by the evidence

dence of Reason, as well as Lawes, they should have beene driven either to sin more against their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgy; or to displease some faction of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more considerable men, not onely for their numbers and estates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, then those are, whose weakness or giddiness they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-Prayer-Booke, I believe was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to say *Amen*, nor yet Charity enough to forbeare Reproaches, and even Cursings of Me in their owne Formes, instead of praying for Me.

I wish their Repentance may be their only punishment; that seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publique Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Formes of sound and wholesome words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the same God, blessed for ever: whose mercies are full of variety, and yet of constancy; thou denyest us not a

new and fresh ſenſe of our old and daily wants nor deſpiſeſt renewed affections joyned to conſtant expreſſions.

Let us not want the benefits of thy Churches united and well deviſed devotions?

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the ſame, and the fervency of our ſpirits to the motions of thy holy ſpirit in us.

And then we doubt not but thy ſpiritual perfections are ſuch, as thou art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious conſtancy of our petitions in them both.

Whoſe variety or conſtancy thou haſt no where either forbidden or commanded but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be uſed, neither deſpiſed.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their owne abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly uſe, to help their infirmities.

And ſince the advantage of Errour conſiſts in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and conſtancy: Suffer not thy Church to be peſtred with errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy ſervice, under the pretence of variety and novelty.

I. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order

der, under this fallacy, that constancy is the cause and ground of formalty.

Lord keep us from formall Hipocrisie in our owne hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with David, *and other holy men) in the same forms cannot hurt us.*

Give us wisdom to amend what is amisse within us, and there wil be lesse to amend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind zeale, and over-bold devotion.

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1. *Of the differences between the* KING *and the two Houses in point of Church Government.*

TOuching GOVERNMENT of the Church by Bishops, the common jealousie hath bene, that I am earnest & resolute to maintaine it, not so much out of piety, as policy, and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unlesse he hath such an influence upon Church-men; and they such a dependance on Him, as may best

best restraine the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have so far the Keyes of the Peoples hearts, as they prevaile much by the Oratory to let in, or shut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as KING) intrusted by God and the Lawes with the good both of Church and State; I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have else where given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspicion, that I encline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State affaires: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in Charity be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both My judgement is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture grounds and also the constant practise of all Christian Churches; till of late yeares, the tumultuarie nesse of People, or the factiousnesse and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousnesse of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models, and proposed them

them under ſpecious titles of *Chriſts Government, Scepter, and Kingdome*; the better to ſerve their turnes, to whom the change was beneficiall.

They muſt give me leave, having none of their temptations to invite mee to alter the Government of Biſhops, (that I may have a title to their Eſtates) not to beleive their pretended grounds to any new wayes: contrary to the full, and conſtant teſtimony of all Hiſtories, ſufficiently convincing unbiaſed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apoſtles and their immediate Succeſſors the firſt and beſt Biſhops; ſo it cannot in reaſon or charity be ſuppoſed, that all Churches in the world ſhould either be ignorant of the rule by them prefcribed, or ſo ſoon deviate from their divine and holy patterne: That ſince the firſt Age, for 1500 years not one Example can be produced of any ſetled Church wherein were many Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhop above them, under whoſe juriſdiction and government they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſall practiſe agreeing with ſo large, and evident Scripture-directions, and examples, are ſet down in the Epiſtles to *Timothy*, and *Titus*, for the ſetling of that Government, not in the perſons only of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſſion;

(the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more dispence with, in point of wel-being, than the want of the Words and Sacraments in point of being).

I wonder how men came to looke with so envious an eye upon Bishops power and authority, as to oversee both the Ecclsiasticall use of them, and Apostolicall constitution; which to me seems no lesse evidently set forth as to the main scope and design of those Epistles, for the setling of a peculiar Office, Power, and authority in them as President Bishops above others in point of Ordination, Censures, and other acts of Ecclesiastical discipline then those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Bishops & Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be cal'd *Bishops*; as to the over sight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or those Apostolical Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinary power, there assigned over larger divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles as a name in the Churches stile appropriated from its common notions (*of a Messenger, or one sent*) to that special

special dignity which had extraordinary call mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ: they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, until use, (the great arbitrator of words, and master of language) finding reason to distinguish by a peculiar name those persons, whose power and office indeed were distinct from, and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary and constant power of governing the Churches, the honour of (whose name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Christian Churches submitting to that speciall authority) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without any suspition or reproach of arrogancy, to those, who were by Apostolicall propagation rightly descended & invested into that highst & largest power of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt had many such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whose special power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the cheise grounds and limits of all Episcopall claim, as from divine right) then are the characters of these perilous times and those men that make them such; who not enduring sound doctrine, and cleare testimonies of all Churches practise, are most perverse Disputers, and proud Vsurpers, against

true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traytours and Boasters, yet they seeme to be very covetous, heady, high-minded; inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the forme, little of the power of godlinesse.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers seek to over-lay and smother the pregnancy & authority of that power of Episcopall Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever these Papers be publique) that I had faire grounds both from Scripture-Canons, & Ecclesiasticall examples, whereon my judgement was stated for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men or their Function which fixed me: who cannot in point of wordly respects be so considerable to me as to recompence the injuries and losses I, and my deareſt Relations with my Kingdomes have sustained, and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this quarrell.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the best Rule, and the Churches Universall practise the best commentary, but also in right reason, and the true nature of Govern-

ment,

ment, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Ministers, should be any more against Christianity, then it is in all secular and civill Governments, where parity breeds confusion and Faction.

I can no more beleeve, that such order is inconsistent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed severall orders, & a Prelacy in the Government of his Church, among the Jewish Priests, should abhor or forbid them among Christian Ministers; who have as much of the Principles of schisme and division as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolicall wisdome (which was divine) after that Christians were multiplied so many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve Order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdome and piety of the Apostles, that first setled Bishops in the Church; which Authority they constantly used, and injoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this

Presidency and authority in one man, by the joynt Counsell and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit meanes to avoid those Errours, Corruptions, & Partialities, which are incident to any one man; Also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a meanes to take away that burden, and *odium* of affaires, which may lye too heavyon one maus shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Government which is Paternal, not Magisteriall; and wherein notonly the neceffity of avoyding Faction and Confusion, Emulations & Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function: but also the differences of some Ministers gifts and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to those abilities, wherein they are Eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Episcopacy, any preoccupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie My self in what the cheif Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I finde they have, as far lesse of, Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so for ex-

amples, and practise of the Church, or testmonies of histories, they are wholly destitute' wherein the whole streame runs so for Episcopaty, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late Reformed Churches (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affaires rather excuseth then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never see any reason why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops should be forced to conform to those few, rather then to the Catholique example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to those Churches at this day, who Governed by Bishops in all the Christian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be: All whom the Churches in my three Kingdomes lately governed by Bishops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charity, where Christians differ, (as many do in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handfull of some Protestants) to great a scandall in point of Church-Government; whom, though you may convince of their Error in some [illegible]

ſhall never perſwade them, that to compleate their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apoſtolicall: So far, that never Schiſmaticks, nor Hereticks (except thoſe Arians) have ſtrayed from the Unity, and Conformity of the Church in that point; ever having Biſhops above Presbyters.

Beſides, the late generall approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of theſe Kingdomes, is a great confirmation of My judgement; and their inconſtancy is a great prejudice againſt their novelty; I cannot in charity ſo far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did; or that they did conforme contrary to their Conſciences; ſo that their facility and levity is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free & impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practice, againſt their obedience to the Lawes in force, and againſt My conſent, have not only quite cried down the Government by Biſhops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and moſt illegall ſtripping all the Biſhops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to

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the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from any Ecclesiasticall uses: so great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgements; of whose so sudden and so totall change, little reason can be given, besides the *Scots* Army comming into *England*.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it selfe, and the Desertors of Episcopacy will appeare the greatest Enemies to, and Betrayers of their owne interest: for Presbytery is never so considerable or effectuall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers will find as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the People and of Princes, as Plants doe betweene being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soone let them see, what a poore carcase they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have beene sworne.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefes; I am firme to Primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reforme, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Lawes, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse

vulgar

vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon Function, the faults of times or persons; which seditious and popular principle, and practise all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civill Honour and Estate, which my Predecessors, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men; I looke upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charity, and Hospitality, meet strengthnings of their Authority in point of respect, and observance; which in peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their vertues so much as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meanesse exposing them and their authority to the contempt of licentious minds and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those encouragements, & be ablest to use them: If at any time my judgment of men failed, my good intention made my errour veniall: And some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church men, especially the Governours to be redeemed from

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that vulgar neglect which besides an innate principle of vitious oppression which is in almen against those that seem to reprove, or restraine them) wil necessarily follow both the Presbyterian party, which makes all Ministers equall; and the Independant inferiority, which sets their Pastors below the People.

This for my judgment touching Episcopacy, wherein, God knows, I do not gratifie any design or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeale to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it be just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence, & infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seeke to force me their KING and Soveraign, as some men have endeavoured to doe, against all these grounds of my judgement, to consent to their weak and divided novelties. The greatest Pretender of them desires no more then I do, That the Church should be governed as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture; of which, I could never see any probable shew for any other wayes: who either content themselves with the examples of some Churches in their infancy & solitude: when one Presbyter might serve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or else they deny these most evident Truths, That the Apostles were Bishops over th se

thoſe Presbyters they ordayned, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that, Government being neceſſary for the Churches wel-being, when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that power and ſuperiority, they had above others; which could not end with their perſons; ſince the uſe and ends of ſuch Government ſtill continue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt Primitive and beſt Churches, flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy; and may ſo ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition, avarice, revenge, and other diſorderly and diſloyall paſſions had not ſo blowne up ſome mens minds againſt it, that what they want of Reaſons or Primitive Patterns, they ſupply with violence and oppreſſion; wherein ſome mens zeale for Biſhops Lands, Houſes, and Revenues hath ſet them on worke to eate up Epiſcopacy: which (however other men eſteem) to Me is no leſſe ſin, then Sacriledge; or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given againe to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands he graciouſly accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himſelfe.

Furthermore, as to my particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable

to

to My judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulnesse of the Function, as Antichristian, (which some men boldly but weakly calumniate) I could soone, with Judgment, break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by Me.

But being dayly by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that to which I am sworn; How can any man that wisheth not My damnation, perswade Me at once to so notorious and combined sins, of Sacrilege and Perjury? besides the many personall Injustices I must doe to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as any, who seeke to deprive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Lively-hoods.

I have often wondred how men pretending to tenderneſse of Conscience, and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath bindes Me to Consent to whatsoever they shall propound to Me, (which they urge with such violence) though contrary to all that Rationall and Religious freedome which every man ought to preserve; & of which they seem so tender in their owne Votes; yet at the same time these men will needs perswade Me,

That

That I must, and ought to dispence with, and roundly breake that part of My Oath, which binds Me (agreeable to the best light of reason and Religion I have) to maintain the government, and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange my lot should be valid in that part, which both My self, and all men in their own case, esteem injurious and unreasonable, as being against the very naturall and essentiall liberty of our soules; yet it should be invalid, and to be broken in another clause, wherein I think my selfe justly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly I have been held so long, by some mens ambitious Covetousnesse, and sacralegious Cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civill dissentions; till I shall be forced to consent, and declare that I doe approve, what (God knowes) I utterly dislike, and in my soul abhor; as many wayes highly against Reason, Iustice, and Religion; and whereto if I should shamefully, and dishonourably give My consent, yet should I not by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties, which contended with each other, as well as both against Me and Episcopacy.

Nor can my late condescending to the *Scots* in point of Church-government, be rightly objected against me, as an inducement for Me

to

to consent to the like in My other Kingdoms For it should be considered that Episcopacy was not so rooted & setled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect so strictly bound to continue it in that kingdom, as in this) for what I think in my judgment best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute My yielding to them, as My failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse; I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yeelding to them been so happy and successfull as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meekenesse, Iustice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in those that pretend to other modes of Government, I might suspect My judgement to be biassed, or fore-stalled with some prejudice and wontednesse of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new wayes of Government.

Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches (whose paternes are so cryed up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished

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beyond what they have done in My Kingdomes by Gods blessing which might make Me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benign influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and uniforme Antiquity, than to comply with divided novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church affaires should be managed neither with tyranny, parity, nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integrity both of My Judgement and Conscience I hope God will preserve Me.

For thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightnesse, and tendernesse as thou hast set me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protectour of thy Church, so suffer me not by any violence, to be overborne against my Conscience.

Arise O Lord maintain thine own Cause, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apostles, hath

been

been retained in purest and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of secular envy; which seeks to rob it of it the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which some men have wounded and robbed; others passe by without regard, either to pity, or relieve.

As my power is from thee, so give me grace to use it for thee.

And though I am not suffered to be Master of my other Rights as a KING, *yet preserve me in that liberty of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conscience as a Christian.*

Preserve, from Sacrilegious invasions, those temporall blessings, which thy providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their sinnes and errours, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wild Boare, and subtil Foxes, to wast and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of heaven so long watered to a happy and flourishing estate.

O let me not beare the infamous brand to all Posterity of being the first Christian KING *in this Kingdome, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whose errours I would rather with* Constantine *cover with silence, and reforme with meeknesse,*

than

thneexpose their persons and sacred Functions to vulgar contempts,

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church: make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unreasonable men, whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches Peace thereby letting in all manner of errours, schismes, and disorders.

O thou God, of order, and of truth in thy good time, abate the malice, asswage the rage, and confound al the mischievous devices of thine, mine and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy Salvation, even before the sons of men.

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18. *Upon* Vxbridge-*Treaty, and other offers made by the* KING.

I Looke upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, then in their limbs.

And though I could seldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or dispōtion to it: having greater confidence of mȳ Reason, then my Sword: I was so

so wholly resolved to yeeld to the first, that I thought neither my self, nor others should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me to prevent them with expresses of my desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to use Reason then Force but also of Christianity to *seek Peace and ensue it*.

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend my self with Armes, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civill War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing and late repairing the mischeif of the means.

Nor did any successe I had ever enhaunce with Me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it then any man: All that I sought to reserve was, Mine Honour, and My Conscience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridg* gave the fairest hopes of an happy composure; had others applyed themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the war had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honour, and Conscience, would give Me

leave,

leave; nor were the remaining differences so essentiall to My Peoples happinesse; or of such consequence; as in the least kind to have hindred My Subjects either security, or prosperitie: for they better enjoyed both, many years, before ever those demands were made, some of which, to denie, I think the greatest Justice to My selfe, and favour to My Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed, as they are raised: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, than to Engage: what is wanting in equitie, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to lose in war, studied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church affaires, where I had least libertie of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon Me; yet I was willing to condescend so far to the settling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse, or superstition had not engaged more, than any true zeale, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeild to all that might seem to advance true piety; I onely sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have elsewhere set downe My thoughts more fully)

fully) is moſt agreeable to the true principles of all Government, raiſed to its full ſtature and perfection, as alſo to the primitive Apoſtolicall patterne, and the practice of the Univerſall Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reaſon urged or anſwered, onely to ſatisfie ſome mens wills and fantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelves in any point, but that of extirpating Epiſcopacy, and fighting againſt Me) muſt needs argue ſuch a ſoftneſſe, and infirmity of mind in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, then Mans Peace, and rather loſe the Churches honour, then croſſe ſome mens factious humours.

God knowes, and time will diſcover, who were moſt to blame for the un-ſucceſsfulneſſe of that Treaty, and who muſt bear the guilt of after-calamities. I beleeve, I am very excuſable both before God, and all impaſſionate men, who have ſeriouſly weighed thoſe tranſactions, wherein I endeavoured no leſſe the reſtauration of peace to my people, then the preſervation of my own Crowns to my poſterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all faire condeſcendings, as arguments of feebleneſſe, and glory moſt in an unflexible ſtiffneſſe, when they ſee others moſt ſupple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was always

to ask ſomething, which in reaſon and honour muſt be denied, that they might have ſome colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting Peace at as high a rate, as the worſt effects of War; endeavouring firſt to make Me deſtroy My Self by diſhonourable Conceſſions, that ſo they might have the leſſe do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world ſee how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the publick Peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſome mens further reſtiveneſſe, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Conceſſions or negations of Mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regret and blame, for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſſe ſet me not above a Treaty, nor the loweſt ebbe below a Fight; Though I never thought it any ſign of true valour, to be prodigal of mens lives, rather then be drawn to produce our own Reaſons, or ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made me for the moſt part preſage the unſucceſsfulneſſe of any Treaty, was, ſome mens unwillingneſſe to Treat: which implied ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe unreſonablenes they were loth to have fairly ſcanned, being more pro-

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per to be acted by Souldiers, than by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking: and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to use such moderation as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it might be happily obtained; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

O thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with My Self: who wantest not Power, or Justice, to destroy them; yet aboundest in mercy to save: soften our hearts by the Blood of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with thy self, and both to procure and preserve Peace among our selves, as Men and Christians. How oft have I entreated for Peace, but when I speak thereof, they make them ready to War.

Condemn us not to our passions, which are destructive both of our selves, and of others.

Cleer up our Understandings to see thy Truth, both in Reason, as Men; and in Religion, as Christians: and incline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of war we have deserved, & bestow upon us that peace which only Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.

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19. *Upon the various events of the warre, victories, and defeats.*

THe various successes of this unhappy war, have at least, afforded me variety of good meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try me with victory, by worsting my enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is the onely true Lord of Hosts; able when he pleases to represse the confidence of those who fought against mee with so great advantage for power and number.

From small beginnings on my part, hee let me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by my peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise my patience, and teach me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of my cause, and those that were with me wanted

wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt chaſtiſement both of them and Mee: Nor were My enemies leſſe puniſhed by that proſperity, which hardened them to continue that injuſtice by open hoſtilitie, which was begun by moſt riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but perſonall and private ſins may oft-times over-balance the Juſtice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds eſteem) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the way of War a righteous Cauſe; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skil valour and ſtrength, the leſſe doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am ſure the event or ſucceſſe can never ſtate the Juſtice of any Cauſe, nor the peace of mens Conſciences, nor the eternall fate of their Soules.

Thoſe with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Juſtification the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oathes; all requiring obedience to My juſt Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or againſt Me, in the point of raiſing Armes.

Thoſe on the other ſide are forced to flie to the ſhifts of ſome pretended Fears, and wilde fundamentals of State (as they call them)

wch actually overthrow the present fabrick, both of Church & State; being such imaginary Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinēt for those men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of Me and the Laws: first by unsuppressing the Tumults, after by listed Forces: The same Allegations they use, will fit any factiō that hath but power & confidence enough to second with the Sword, all their demands against the present Laws and Governours; wch can never be such as some side or other will not find fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion against them, some parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who dyed fighting against Me, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title, can with truth be applied only to those, who sincerely preferred Gods truth, and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantagious designs by any Innovasion, were Religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church, and my Self, which lay upon their souls, both for obedience, and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them wth eternall

eternall life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their bodies being Sanctified as a means to save their souls.

Their Wounds & temporall Ruine serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall Health & Happinesse; while the evident approach of death, through Gods grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutish and disloyall fiercenesse could deprive them of; or without repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better against My side in the Field, but never, I beleeve at the Bar of Gods Tribunall, or their own Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons, both for Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuse them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave Me.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no quest̃io, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man (that duly values his duty, his soul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most

triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherwith their suspitious, or now convicted Consciences doe pursue them, especially since they and all the world have seen, how false and un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the onely plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against Me, and the Lawes established; in whose saftety and preservation all honest men think the welfare of their Country doth consist.

For, and with all which, it is farre more honourable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruine and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on My side might joyn true pietie with the sense of their Loyalty; and be as faithfull to God and their own soules, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any shews, or truth of pietie on the other side were sufficient to dispence with, or expiate the defects of their Dutie and Loyaltie to Me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens Consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without

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My sorrow, because it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like *Absolom*, died many of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered any Defeat, which made Me despaire of Gods mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories, as might serve to conquer, but onely restore the Laws and Liberties of My people; which I saw were extreamly oppressed, together with My Rights by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, My desire was neither to boast of My power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I beleeved at last would make all things to work together for My good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and my Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over my self. When the first was denied, the second was granted me which God saw best for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine justice, by contrary winds to winow us: That, by punishing our sins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Meſſages for Peace ſhewed, that I delighted not in Warre; as my former Conceſſions ſufficiently teſtified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My totall unpreparedneſſe for it, how little I intended it.

The conſcience of my Innocence forbad Me to fear a Warre; but the love of My Kingdoms commanded Me (if poſſible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this Warre of nothing but this, That I gave ſuch advantages to ſome men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to uſe with that modeſty and gratitude, which became their loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yeelded leſſe, I had been oppoſed leſſe; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occaſions of the War; I wiſh only a happy concluſion of ſo unhappy beginnings: The inevitable fate of our ſins was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the divine juſtice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to deſtroy one another: for, the moſt proſperous ſucceſſes on either ſide, impair the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable, that leav

leave our ſinnes unſubdued; fluſhing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it ſelf is not deſirable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more againſt our ſelves, and leſſe againſt God, we ſhall ceaſe fighting againſt one another; I pray God theſe may all meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe us to an happy concluſion of theſe Civill Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I deſire any man ſhould be further ſubject to Me, then all of us may be ſubject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it ſo.

Teach me the nobleſt victory over my ſelf and my enemies by Patience; which was Chriſts conqueſt, and may well become a Chriſtian King.

Between both thy Hands, the right ſometimes ſupporting, and the left afflicting; faſhion us to that frame of Piety thou likeſt beſt.

Forgive the pride that attends our proſperous, and the repinings, which follow our diſaſtrous events; when going forth in our own ſtrength thou withdraweſt thine, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are ſomething, and when

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we are nothing; that thou mayeſt have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knoweſt, how hard it is for me to ſuffer ſo much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but ſuffer in thoſe evils which they compell me to inflict upon them; puniſhing my ſelf in their puniſhments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am ſtill a Sufferer; I beſeech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that meaſure of grace, which onely can be ſufficient for me.

As I am moſt afflicted, ſo make me moſt reformed: that I may be not onely happy to ſee an end of theſe civill diſtractions, but a chief Inſtrument to reſtore and eſtabliſh a firm, and bleſſed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Stirre up all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reaſon, moderation, and ſuch ſelf-deniall, as becomes thoſe, who conſider that our mutuall diviſions are our common diſtractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefeſt intereſt.

If O Lord, as for the ſins of our peace, thou haſt brought upon us the miſeries of War; ſo for the ſins of War thou ſhouldſt ſee fit ſtill to deny us the bleſſing of peace, and ſo to keep us in a circulation of miſeries; yet give me thy Ser-

vant,

vant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingneſſe and griefe, hath been ſhed by me, in my juſt & neceſſary defence; but waſh me with that pretious bloud, which hath been ſhed for me, by my great Peace maker, Jeſus Chriſt. Who will, I truſt, redeem me ſhortly out of all my troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

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20. *Upon the Reformation of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied than that, of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch, that the perturbation and noveltie are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honour me ſo far, as to make me an Inſtrument of ſo good a work, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

As I was well pleaſed with this Parliaments firſt intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorry to ſee after the free-

freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Laws eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſetled; which ought to be the firſt rule and ſtandard of reforming: with how much partiality and popular compliance, the paſſions and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite ſcandall of the reformed Religion?

What diſſolutions of all Order, and Government, in the Church? what novelties of Schiſms, and corrupt opinions? what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred adminiſtrations? what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church? what contempt and oppreſſions of the Clergy; what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of Me, have followed (as ſhowrs do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all ſober men are Witneſſes, and with my ſelf, ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage I think is, that popular clamors and fury, have been allowed the reputation of Zeal, and the publick ſenſe; ſo that the ſtudies to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, Moderation, and Impartiality are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Counſels, and endeavours; what is acted by Factions, cãnot but offend more than it pleaſeth.

I

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose Counsels as they would have included the Votes of all, so it's like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have applied (in an unwonted way) to advise of Church affairs, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen; nor act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedom and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not overawed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so many men cried up for learning & piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the main, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to be of Apostolicall institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universall practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own suffrages, & if the influence of contrary factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous Innovasions in the Church; without any regard to their own former judgement

ment and practice, or to the common intereſt and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, learning, and Religion againſt examples of all Ancient Churches; the Lawes in force, and My conſent; which is never to be gained, againſt ſo pregnant light, as in that point ſhines on My underſtanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not ſo cleare and punctuall in precepts, there the conſtant and Univerſall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reaſon, Faith, good Manners, or any poſitive Command, is the beſt Rule that Chriſtians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or reſtore to Preſbitery, what with Reaſon or Diſcretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Epiſcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither juſt, as to Epiſcopacy, nor ſafe for Preſbitery; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had eaſily followed moderate Counſels: and ſuch (I believe) as would have given more content, even to the moſt of thoſe Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and formallity, to carry on other mens deſignes which no doubt many of them by this time diſcover, though they dare

not

not but ſmother their fruſtrations, and diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular Titles of Chriſts Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdome, (which certainty is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have at leaſt) alſo the noiſe of a through Reformation, theſe may as eaſily be fined on new models, as faire colours may bee put to ill-favoured Figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling downe of croſſes, which were but civill, not Religious markes; defacing of Monuments, and Inſcriptions of the dead, which ſerved but to put poſterity in mind, to thank God, for that clearer light wherein they live; The leaving of Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities in the publick ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what hee may ſay *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous undecencies which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their prayers, preaching, and other Offices, Their ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſmes, & Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much as if there had been no ſound or clear Doctrine of faith in this Church, before ſome foure or five yeares conſultation had matured

their

their thoughts touching their first principles of Religion.

All these and the like are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long) but all this amounts not to, nor can in justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompence or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and will ever necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their Unanimous work, to do Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Governmēt of this Church and State, fixed by so many Laws, and long Customs, would not run into their new molds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civill War; by the advantages

vantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My Self and all my Subjects fall down and worship the Images they should form and set up. If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meekness, wisdom and charity in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions, to Reform all to Christs rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs glory, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practice that on their own hearts, which they purpose to try on others; for Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformations, to such private designs, as must needs hinder the publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church, cannot subsist with that of perturbing the Civill State, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion, for next to *Fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdom may be set up without pulling down Mine; nor will any men in impartiall times, appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christs

Christs Government will confirme Mine, not overthrow it, since as I owne Mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christ's Government, or knew what it meant, in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words, and actions, both against Me, and one another,

As good ends cannot justifie evill meanes, so nor will evill beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unlesse God by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darkneſſe, order out of our confusions, and peace out of our passions.

Thou, O Lord, who only canst give us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaicall washings, instead of Christian reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own soules.

That we may in clearnesse of judgment, and uprightnesse of heart be meanes to reforme what is indeed amisse in Church and State.

Create in us cleane hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may doe all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pity

Pity the deformities, which some rash & cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State; Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions, and confusions, what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weakenesse of their judgements; so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousnesse, or sacrilege, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy providence in just and lawfull wayes shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessary work. That I and my People may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

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21. *Upon his Majesties Letters taken and divulged.*

THE taking of My Letters was an opportunitie, which, as the malice of Mine ENEMIES could hardly have expected; so they know not how with honour and civility to use it: Nor doe I think with sober and worthy minds any thing in them, could tend so much to My reproach, as the odious

odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greateſt experiments of Vertue and Nobleneſſe being diſcovered in the greateſt advantages againſt an enemy, and the greateſt obligations being thoſe, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could leaſt have expected them.

And ſuch I ſhould have eſteemed the concealing of my Papers; the freedom and ſecreſie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane then to expoſe them to publick view.

Yet ſince Providence will have it ſo, I am content ſo much of My Heart (which I ſtudy to approve to Gods omniſcience) ſhould be diſcovered to the world without any of thoſe dreſſes or popular captations, which ſome men uſe in their Speeches and Expreſſes; I wiſh my Subjects had yet a cleerer ſight into My moſt retired Thoughts:

Where they might diſcover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preſerve My own Rights, than to procure their Peace and Happineſſe, and that extream grief to ſee them both deceiv'd and deſtroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by my Letters, than to ſee my conſtancy to my Wife, the Laws, and Religion.

Bees

Bees will gather Honey where the Spider ſucks Poiſon.

That I endeavour to avoid the preſſures of my Enemies, by all fair and juſt correſpondencies; no man can blame, who loves Me, or the Common-wealth, ſince my Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miſerable, or enjoy their Peace and Liberties while I am oppreſſed.

The world may ſee how ſoon mens deſign, like *Abſoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exaſperate all fides to ſuch diſtances, as may make all Reconciliation deſperate.

Yet I thank God I can not onely with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentiõs is not jealous of any injury My expreſſions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit of greater freedom in writing ſuch Letters, wch may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the innocẽcy of My chief purpoſes cannot be ſo obtained, or miſinterpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more then a happy compoſure of differẽces with Juſtice & Honor, not more to My own, then My peoples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by thoſe My Letters may be convinced

that

that I can both mind and act My owne, and My Kingdomes Affaires, ſo as becomes a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwayes been very loath ſhould be beleeved of me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others; whom they pleaſe to brand with the names of Evill Counſellours.

Its probable ſome men will now look upon me as my own Counſellour, and having none elſe to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my ſelfe: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of my own Thoughts, or follow the light of my own Conſcience, which they labour to bring into an abſolute captivity to themſelves; not allowing me to think their Counſels to be other then good for me, which have ſo long maintained a War againſt Me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became they prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom proſperity gaines the greateſt eſteem and applauſe; as adverſity expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſ-reſpect: As if good fortune were alwaies the ſhadow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But

But I ſee, no ſecular advantages ſeem ſufficient to that cauſe which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They thinke no Victories ſo effectuall to their Deſignes as thoſe, that moſt rout and waſte my Credit with my People; in whoſe hearts they ſeeke by all meanes to ſmother and extinguiſh all ſparks of Love, Reſpect and Loyalty to Mee, that they may never kindle againe, ſo as to recover Mine, the Laws, and the Kingdomes Liberties, which ſome men ſeeke to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit is but a neceſſary preparation to the taking away of my Life, and my Kingdomes; Firſt, I muſt ſeem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reigne; By exquiſite methods of cunning and cruelty I muſt bee compelled, firſt to follow the Funeralls of my Honour, and then be deſtroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartiall Juſtice can, and will overrule the moſt perverſe wills and deſignes of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worſt of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor doe I thinke, that by the ſurprize of my Letters, I have loſt any more then ſo many papers: How much they have loſt of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to bee paid to all men, and moſt be-

becomes such as pretend to Religion) besides that of respect and Honour, which they ow to their KING, present, and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their own consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they neuer so much of publick flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect and filiall tenderness, which *Noah's* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*; which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonourable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intencions be ever ether excusable, or prosperous; who thought by this means to expose Me, to the highest reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any reall uncomelinesse; which, I think God they did not; who can, and I believe hath made Me more respected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*)

to

to whom they thought, by publishing My private Letters, to have rendred Me as a Vile Person, not fit to be trusted or considered, under any Notion of Majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest contingences of humain affaires; make me to see the constancy of thy mercies to me, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of my Enemies against me.

As thou didst blast the counsel of Achitophel, *turning it to* Davids *good, & his own ruine: so canst thou defeat their designe, who intended by publishing my private Letters, nothing else, but to render me more odious & contemptible to My People.*

I must first appeale to thy omniscience, Who canst witnesse with my integrity, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which my enemies endeavour by those Papers of mine to represent to the World.

Make the evill they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to return on their own heads. that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion, as with a Cloak.

Thou seest how mine enemies use all means to cloud mine Honour to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed

But give me an heart content to be dſhonoured for thy ſake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpoſe to honour thee; and then I know thou Wilt honour me, either by reſtoring to me the enjoyment of that Power and Majeſty, which thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to ſeeke to deprive me of; or by beſtowing on me that Crowne of Chriſtian Patience, which knows how to ſerve thee in honour, or diſhonour, in good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountaine of goodneſſe, and honour: Thou art clothed with excellent Majeſty; make me to partake of thy Excellency for Wiſdome, Juſtice, and Mercy; and I ſhall not want that degree of Honour, and Majeſty, which becomes the Place in which thou haſt ſet me, who art the lifter up of my head, and my ſalvation.

Lord by thy Grace, lead me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.

22. *Upon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given Mee three Kingdomes, yee in these He hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safety and Honour rest my Head: Shewing me that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast my selfe, and my now distressed affairs upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now my Counsellour, and commands me to study my safety by a disguised withdrawing from my cheifest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began my Troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compose them.

This my confidence of Them; may disarm and overcome them; my rendring my Person to Them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolvè the riddle of their Loyalty: and givè them oportunity to let the world see, they meane not what they doe, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chiefest Guard; and my Conscience both my Councellour and my Comforter; Though I put my Body into their hands, yet I shall reserve my Soule to God aud my selfe; nor shall an necessities compell Me, to desert mine Honour, or swerve from My Judgement.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way of unusuall confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be teally such, as they ought, and professed to bee.

God sees it not enough to desert me of all Military power to defend my selfe; but to put me upon using their power, who seem to fight against me, yet ought in duty to defend me.

So various are all humane affàires, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those that have adhered to me, and apply to those that have Opposed me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous, than that of Warre, both to stop the effusion of blood, and to close those wounds already

already made: and in it I am no leſſe ſolicitous for my Friends ſafety, than Mine own; chuſing to venture my ſelfe upon further hazards, rather than expoſe their reſolute Loyalty to all extreamities.

It is ſome skill in play to know when a game is loſt; better fairly to go over, then to conteſt in vaine.

I muſt now ſtudy to re-inforc My judgement, and fortifie My mind with Reaſon and Religion; that I may not ſeeme to offer up my Souls liberty, or make my Conſcience their Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Armes, to have perſwaded my conſent to their new demands.

I thank God no ſucceſſe darkens or diſguiſes Truth to me; and I ſhall no leſſe conforme my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had beene, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyal Subjects, *full of power.*

Reaſon is the divineſt power: I ſhall never think my ſelfe weakned while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eclypſe of outward fortune ſhall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward ſtrength, his grace I hope, will ſupply with inward reſolutions, not moroſity to deny, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing, which Reaſon and Religion bids me deny.

I ſhall never think my ſelfe leſſe than my ſelf

while I am able thus to preserve the Integrity of my Conscience, the only Jewell now left me which is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraign of our Souls, the only Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my selfe.

As thou hast preserved me in the day of Battall, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my Weaknesse.

Be thou unto me in my darkest night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of cloud to over shadow and protect me; be to me, both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not any perverseness of Will, but just perswasions of Honour, Reason, and Religion which have made me thus farre to hazard my Person, Peace, and Safety, against those, that by force have sought to wrest them from me.

Suffer not my just resolutions to abate With outward Forces; let a good Conscience always accompany Me, in My solitude and desertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason, and that fortresse of my Soule, which I am intrusted to keepe for thee.

Lead

Lead me in the paths of thy righteousnesse, and shew me thy salvation.

Make my waies to please thee, and then thou wilt make Mine Enemies to bee at peace with me.

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23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* English; *and His Captivity at* Holmeby.

YEt may I justifie those *Scots* to all the World in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never trusted to them further than to men: if I am sold by them I am onely sorry they should doe it; and that my price should be so much above my Saviours.

These are but further Essayes, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himselfe; who never faileth them that trust in him; Though the Reeds of *Ægypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them: yet the Rock of *Israel* will bee an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himselfe, that in him I may enjoy my selfe, which I lost, while I let out my hopes to others.

The solitude and captivity, to which I am

now reduced, gives me leisure enough to study the worlds vanity, and inconstancy.

God sees 'tis fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedome, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the unfortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreligious, and sacrilegious Princes.

No restraint shall ensnare my Soule in sin, nor gain that of me, which may make my Enemies more insolent, my Friends ashamed, or my Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got my Person into their power: since my Soule is still my owne; nor shall they ever gain my Consent against my Conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was no evill Counsellours with me, but a good Conscience in me, which hath beene fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should bee such as they wish me, not more a King, and farre lesse both man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain

tain, neither ſhall reſtraint; which though it have as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The feare of men ſhall never be my ſnare: nor ſhall the love of any liberty entangle my Soule: Better others betray me, than my ſelfe: and that the price of my liberty ſhould be my Conſcience; the greateſt injuries my enemies ſeek to inflict upon me cannot be without my own conſent.

While I can deny with reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily, what I have already granted, nor what to require more of me but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy my ſelf and mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo dear to me, as the peace of my Conſcience, the Honour of my Crowns, and the welfare of my People: which my Word may injure more than any warre can do; while I gratifie a few to oppreſſe all.

The lawes will, by Gods bleſſing, revive, with the love and Loyalty of Subjects; if I bury them not by my Conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonour, and injuſtice whic ſome mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or death muſt bee the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which carrieth not with it, His Souls, His Peoples, and Poſterities thraldome.

After-times may ſee, what the blindneſſe of this Age will not; and God may at length ſhew my Subjects, that I chuſe rather to ſuffer for them then with them; happily I might redeem my ſelfe to ſome ſhew of liberty, if I would conſent to inſlave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Mee, whoſe ſolitude hath not left Mee alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good, and great, art with Me, Whoſe preſence is better then life; and Whoſe ſervice is perfect freedome.

Owne Me for thy Servant, and I ſhall never have cauſe to complain for want of that liberty, Which becometh a Man, a Chriſtian, and a King.

Bleſſe Me ſtill With reaſon, as a Man; with Religion as a Chriſtian; and With Conſtancy in Juſtice as a King.

Though thou ſuffereſt Me to be ſtript of all outWard ornaments, yet preſerve Me ever in thoſe enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy ſelfe; and Which cannot be taken from Me againſt my will.

Let

Let no fire of affliction boyle over my passion to any impatience, or sordid feares.

There be many say of Me, There is no helpe for me: do thou lift up the light of thy Countenance, upon me, and I shall neither want Safetie, Libertie, nor Majestie.

Give me that measure of Patience and Constancy, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, My expectation from men defeated, My Person restrained: O bee not thou farre from me, lest my Enemies prevaile too much against me.

I am become a wonder and a scorne to many: O be Thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon me for good, that they that hate me may bee ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted me: establish me with thy free Spirit, that I may doe, and suffer thy Will, as thou wouldst have me.

Bee mercifull to me, O Lord, for my Soule trusteth in thee: yea and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill these calamities bee overpast.

Arise to deliver me, make no longer tarrying, O my God. Though thou kill st me; yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadst me through the vail and shadow of death, yet shall I feare none ill.

24. Upon

24. *Upon their denying His Majeſtie the attendance of His Chaplaines.*

WHen Providence was pleaſed to deprive me of all other civill comforts and ſecular attendants, I thought the abſence of them all might beſt be ſupplied by the attendance of ſome of my Chaplains, whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cauſe to love. By their learning, pietie and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to ſuſtaine the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and uſe of them in Gods good time: ſo reaping by their pious help a ſpirituall harveſt of grace amidſt the thornes, and after the plowings of temporall croſſes.

The truth is, I never needed or deſired more the ſervice and aſſiſtance of men judiciouſly pious, and ſobetly devout.

The ſolitude they have confined me unto, addes the wilderneſſe to my temptations: For the company they obtrude upon me, is more ſad than any ſolitude can be,

If I had asked my Revenues, my Power of the *Militia*, or any one of my Kingdomes, it had beene no wonder to have beene denied in thoſe

thoſe things, where the evill policy of men forbids all juſt reſtitution, leſt they ſhould confeſſe an injurious uſurpation: But to deny me the Ghoſtly comfort of my Chaplains ſeems a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt Priſoners, and greateſt malefactors; whom though the Juſtice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allowes them the benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to deſtroy their Bodies, and to damne their Soules.

But my Agony muſt not be relieved with the preſence of any one good Angell; for ſuch I account a Learned, Godly, and diſcreet Divine: and ſuch I would have all mine to bee.

They that envy my being a King, are loth I ſhould be a Chriſtian, while they ſeeke to deprive me of all things elſe, They are afraid I ſhould ſave my Soule.

Other ſenſe, Charity it ſelfe can hardly pick out of thoſe many harſh repulſes I received, as to that Requeſt ſo often made for the attendance of ſome of my Chaplains,

I have ſometime thought the unchriſtianneſſe of thoſe denials might ariſe from a diſpleaſure ſome men had to ſee me preferre my owne Divines before their Miniſters: whom, though I reſpect for that worth and pietie which

which may bee in them, yet I cannot thinke them ſo proper for any preſent comforters or Phyſitians; who have (ſome of them at leaſt) had ſo great an influence in occaſioning theſe calamities, and inflicting theſe wounds upon Me.

Nor are the ſobereſt of them ſo apt for that devotionall compliance and juncture of hearts, which I deſire to beare in thoſe holy Offices, to be performed with me, and for me; ſince their judgements ſtanding at a diſtance from me, or in jealouſie of me, or in opoſition againſt me, their ſpirits cannot ſo harmoniouſly accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer or other holy duties, as is meet, and moſt comfortable; whoſe golden Rule, and bond of perfection conſiſts in that of mutuall Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worſe then the diſeaſe, and ſome comforters more miſerable then miſery it ſelfe; when like *Jobs* friends, they ſeeke not to fortifie ones minde with patience, but perſwade a man by betraying his own Innocency, to diſpaire of Gods mercy; and by juſtifying their injuries, to ſtrengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of inſoleut Enemies.

I am ſo much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beſeeming that ſacred function, that I have hazarded my own

own Intereſts, chiefly upon Conſcience and Conſtancy to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the ſacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapicious Reformers; ſo I thought it my duty the more to appear as a Father, and a Parton for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandſomly requited by ſome of them; who may live to repent no leſſe for my ſufferings, than their own ungratefull errours, and that injurious contempt and meanneſſe, which they have brought upon their Calling and Perſons.

I pity all of them, I deſpiſe none: onely I though I might have leave to make choice of ſome for My ſpeciall Attendants, who were beſt approved in My Judgement, and moſt ſutable to My affection. For, I held it better to ſeem undevout, and to hear no mens prayers, than to be forced, or ſeem to comply with thoſe petitions, to wich the heart cannot conſent, nor the tongue ſay *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own underſtanding, or belying his own ſoul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldneſſe, nor pious non-ſenſe; but ſuch an humble and judicious gravity as ſhews the Speaker to be at once conſiderate both of Gods Majeſty, the Churches honour, and his own Vileneſſe; both knowing what things God allows him

him to aske, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to ſupplicate the divine Mercy for himſelf, and others.

I am equally ſcandalized with all prayers, that ſound either imperiouſly, or rudely, and paſſionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or reſpect to the duty.

I confeſſe I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied and premeditated Sermons, ſo with ſuch publique Forms of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Chriſtians daily and common neceſſities; becauſe I am by them better aſſured, what I may joyne My heart unto than I can be of any mans extemporary ſufficiency; which as I do not wholly exclude from publique occaſions, ſo I allow its juſt liberty and uſe in private and devout retirements; where neither the ſolemnity of the duty, nor the modeſt regard to others, do require ſo great exactneſſe as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of underſtanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the main and moſt neceſſary requiſites both in conſtant, and occaſionall, ſolitary, and ſociall Devotions.

So that I muſt needs ſeem to all equall minds with as much Reaſon to prefer the ſervice of My owne Chaplains before that of their Miniſters, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory

In

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exerciſed; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet ſhould I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of moſt of thoſe men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe; which is already as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of them, as the Common-Prayer ſometimes was by thoſe men; a great part of whoſe piety hung upon that popular pin of railing againſt, and contemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But, I had rather be condemned to the wo of *Væ ſoli*, then to that of *Va vobis Hypocritis*, by ſeeming to pray what I doe not approve.

It may bee, I am eſteemed by my Denyers ſufficient of my ſelfe to diſcharge my dutie to GOD as a Prieſt, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regall and Sacerdotall, might well become the ſame Perſon, as anciently they were under one name, & the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better preſidents, if I were able, than thoſe two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, than one was for devout Pſalmes and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables

and

and Preaching : whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet. the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, than any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued : it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisedome and providence hath, for the most part, alwayes distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests of Princes and Preachers ; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches : I am sorry to find My self reduced to the necessity of being both, or injoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive Me of Kingly Power and Soveraignty ; would no lesse enforce Me to live many months without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unlesse I become My own Chaplain.

As I ow the Clergy the protection of a Christian KING, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefite of their gifts and prayers ; which I look upon as more prevalent than My own or other mens ; by how much they flow from minds more enlightned, and affections lesse distracted, than those which are encombred with secular affairs : besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptableness attends

tends those duties which are rightly performd, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have especially designed and consecrated some men: And, however, as to the Spirituall Government, by which the devout Soule is subject to Christ, and through his merits daily offers it self and its services to GOD, every private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the honour of a Royall Priesthood; yet as to Ecclesiastical order, & the outward polity of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwaies bred to more modest, and I think more pious Principles: the consciousnes to My spirituall defects makes Me more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford Me; especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of My Subjects to reduce Me; so as to leave them nothing more but My life to take from Me: and to leave Me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousie and offence to deny Me, than this of having some meanes afforded Me for My soules comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way

way (that I know) ſcandalous, ſo every way eminent for their learning and piety, no leſſe than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made againſt them, but onely this that they may ſeem too able and too well affected toward Me and My ſervice.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I count it the beſt) in which they have forced Me to ſerve My ſelf; though I muſt confeſſe I bear with more gtief and impatience the want of My Chaplains, than of any other My Servants and next (if not beyond in ſome things) to the being ſequeſtred from my Wife and Children, ſince from theſe indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from thoſe more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary ſupplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach me and help my Infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I hope he will) I ſhall need no other, either Oratour or Inſtructer.

To the therefore, O My God, do I direct My now ſolitary praiers; what I want of others help, ſupply with the more immediate aſſiſtances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten My darkneſſe, and quicken My dulneſſe.

O

O thou Sun of rightsouſneſſe, thou ſacred Fountain of heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warm my heart, both by inſtructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulneſſe; From the all-ſufficiency: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my Prieſt. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

The ſingle wreſtlings of Jacob *prevailed with thee, in that ſacred Duell, when he had none to ſecond him but thy ſelf; who didſt aſſiſt him with power to ocercome thee, and by a welcome violence to wreſt a bleſſing from thee.*

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercie, whom thou didſt once bleſſe with the joynt and ſociated Devotions of others. whoſe fervencie might inflame the coldnuſſe of my affections towards thee; when we went to or met in thy Houſe with the voice of joy and gladneſſe, worſhipping thee in the unitie of ſpirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O frrgive the neglect, and not improving of thoſe happie opportunities.

It is now thy pleaſure that I ſhould be as a Pelican in the wilderneſſe, as a Sparrow on the houſe top & as a cole ſcattered from all thoſe pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might

might best kindle, preserve, and encrease the holy fire of thy graces, on the Altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of praises, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakest not the bruised Reed; nor quenchest the smoking flax, doe not despize the weaknesse of my prayers, nor the smotherings of my soule in this uncomfortable loneneſſe; to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denyalls of those helps, which I much want, and no lesse desire.

O let the hardnesse of their hearts occasion the softnings of mine to thee, and for Them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreasonable denials of my Religious desires, the more excite My prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafneſſe encline thine eare to me; who art a God easie to bee entreated; thine eare is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy hand, that it will not heare, nor thy hand shortned, that it cannot help Me thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive Mee of those outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church, but they cannot debar me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make me such, & thou wilt teach me, thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O Lord, canst at once make Mee thy Tem-

Temple, thy Prieſt, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears my ſelf to thee; who prepareſt me for thee, dwelleſt in me, and accepteſt of me.

Thou O Lord didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handfull of meal in the veſſell ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oyl in the cruiſe fail the Widow during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my ſoul, which as a Widow, is now deſolate and forſaken; let not thoſe ſaving Truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory; nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholſome food for the refreſhing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuſe than to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, than teaching me; whoſe mouths are proner to bitter reproches of me, than to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to My deſtruction, (which are clear for their ſubjection, and my preſervation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under colour

long praiers) have sought to devoure the houses of their Brethren, their King, & their God.

O let not those mens balms break my head, nor their Cordials oppresse my heart, I will evermore pray against their wickednesse.

From the poison under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words ever deliver Me, O Lord, and all those Loyall and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperity of my soul, and who seek by their praiers to relieve this sadnesse, and solitude of thy servant, O my King and my God.

25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vows in the KINGS solitude at *Holmeby*.

GIve ear to my words, ô Lord, consider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my crie, my King, and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I said in my haste I am cast out of the sight of thine eies; nevertheless thou heares't the voice of my supplication, when I crie unto thee.

If thou Lord shouldst be extream to mark what is done amisse, who can abide it? but there is mercie with thee, that thou maist be feared; therefore shall sinners flie unto thee.

I acknowledg my sins before thee, which have

the

the aggravation of my condition; the eminencie of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beſeech thee, my Perſonall, and my Peoples ſins; which are ſo far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gaveſt me, to thy glory, and my Subjects good: Thou haſt now brought me from the glory and freedome of a King, to be a Priſoner to my own Subjects: Juſtly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, becauſe in many things I have rebelled againſt thee.

Though thou haſt reſtrained my Perſon, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards Me.

I come far ſhort of Davids *piety; yet ſince I may equall* Davids *afflictions, give me alſo the comforts and the ſure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent ſenſe I have of my ſins, be an evidence to me, that thou haſt pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdoms have ſuffered, ſeem little unto thee; though thou haſt not puniſhed us according to our ſins

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am deſolate and afflicted.

The ſorrows of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and ſhut up thy loving kindneſſe in diſpleaſure?

O remember thy compaſſions of old, and thy loving kindneſſes, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to ſee thy goodneſſe in the land of the living.

Let not the ſinnes of our proſperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery triall conſume the droſſe, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continueſt miſeries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of proſperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of juſtice muſt be ſtretched out ſtill; Let it I beſeech thee be againſt me, and my Fathers houſe; as for theſe ſheep, what have they done?

Let my ſufferings ſatiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the meaſure of my charity.

Baniſh from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not loſe the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou giveſt me a heart to forgive them, ſo I beſeech thee do thou forgive what they have done againſt thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou haſt given me heart to pray unto thee; ſo hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember Me, and my Kingdomes; In continuing the light of thy Goſpell, and ſetling thy true Religion among us.

In

In restoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schismes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predecessours.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy self in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewell of these Civill Wars.

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedome of publick Counsels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the insolency of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing against my Conscience; and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacity to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then shall my soul praise thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then shall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be my chiefest care.

Then will I rule my People with Justice, and my Kingdomes with equity.

To thy more immediate hand shal I ever own

as the rightfull succession so the mercifull restauration of My Kingdomes, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring Me again with peace, safety and honour, to My chiefest City, and My Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into My hand to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian charity, which I now make unto thee, O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Christs sake those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnaturall divisions; for thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all means in the waies of amnesty and indempnity which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Hear my praier, O Lord, which goeth not out of faixed lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my

praier:

praier; nor taken his mercie from me.

O my ſoul, commit thy way to the Lord, truſt in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſſe.

But if thou wilt not reſtore me and mine, what am I that I ſhould charge thee fooliſhly?

Thou, O Lord, haſt given, and thou haſt taken, Bleſſed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

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26. *Upon the Armies Surpriſall of the* KING *at* Holmeby, *and the enſuing diſtractions in the two Houſes, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have me now to act or ſuffer in this new and ſtrange Scene of affairs, I am not much ſolicitous; ſome little practiſe will ſerve that man who onely ſeeks to repreſent a part of honeſty and honour.

This ſurprize of Me tells the world, that a KING cannot be ſo low, but He is conſiderable; adding weight to that Party where he appears.

This Motion, like others of the Times seems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the strugl ings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevail against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*, and sounds too like the fury of those Zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatall destruction of that City.

Well may I change my Keepers & Prison, but not my captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Liberty of their KING; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous, than the Pres-

Presbyterian rigour, who sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to laws, are become the greatest Exactours of other mens submission to their novell injunctions, before they are stamped vvith the Authority of Lavvs, vvhich they cannot vvell have vvithout My consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service, in that they carry on a businesse of such consequence, as the assuming My Person into the Armies custody, vvithout any Commission, but that of their ovvn vvill and povver. Such as vvill thus adventure on a King, must not be thought over-modest, or timerous to carry on any design they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and scares both the tvvo Houses and the City; vvhich soon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never questioned, punished, or repented) must novv suffer for both; and see their former sinne in the glasse of the present terrours and distractions.

No man is so blind as not to see herein the hand of divine Justice; they that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must novv be chastened by their ovvn Armyy for nevv Tumults.

So hardly can men be content vvith one sin,

but adde ſinne to ſin, till the latter puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee me and many Members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to fly to an Army, or defend themſelves againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens Juſtice? the Members of both Houſes who at firſt withdrew, (as my ſelf was forced to do) from the rudeneſſe of the Tumults, were counted Deſertours, and outed of their Places in Parliament,

Such as ſtayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the onely Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, and Forſakers of their places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly againſt the Tumults, and vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are loked upon as Abettours of Tumultuary inſolencies, and Betrayers of the Freedome and Honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to preſent Advantages than their Conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults holds good, the

the Authours and Abbettours of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessary Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the mice and rats are said to have done a Bishop in Germany) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pity; for, I alwaies wished so well to Parliament and City, that I was sorry to see them do, or suffer any thing unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despair of their Loyalty to me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom *I* look, as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of my praiers and tears, with compassionate grief, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gather-

gathered to their duty: fatall blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing wilfulneſſe, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows who would not timely repent of their ſins; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquity are not farre from becoming inſolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it poſſible to gain a fair period for thoſe notions which go rather in a round and circle of fanſie, than in a right line of reaſon tending to the Law, the onely center of publick conſiſtency; whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall fully ſee how much more happy we are, to be ſubject to the known Laws, than to the various wills of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant wayes, like violent motions in a nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelf, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſſe: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Army (which is ſo far excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and intereſts

interests demanding Pay and Indempnity) I think it necessary, in order to the publick peace that they should be satisfied, as far as is just; no man being more prone to consider them than my self; though they have fought against me, yet I cannot but so farre esteem that valour and gallantry they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintain my self, my Lawes, and my Kirgdomes, in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord who art perfect Unitie in a sacred Trinitie, in mercie behold those, whom thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver me from the strivings of my People, and make me to see how much they need my praiers and pitie, who agreed to fight against me, and yet are now readie to fight against one another; to the continuance of my Kingdomes distractions.

Discover to all sides the waies of peace, from which they have swerved: which consist not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the point and due observation of the Laws.

Make me willing to go whither thou will lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me, that I may see thy constancie in the worlds varietie and changes.

Ma

Make me even such as thou wouldst have Me, that I may at last enjoy that safetie and tranquilitie which thou alone canst give Me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavie wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plentie is prone to adde fewell to their luxurie, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to securitie, and their securitie exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eies to see, hearts to consider, wils to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glorie and the publike peace, lest their calamitie come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sinne, nor shall they be long undisarmed and un-destroied, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the clear convictions of their own consciences, sight more against themselves, then ever they did against Me.

Their sinnes exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to other injuries, their number to Tumults, and their tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let Me not so much consider either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first

first by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorãce for their pardon; and in my dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied me in my sadest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves, who the lesse they were for me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not my bloud be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie me.

But thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt (as thou didst my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my sufferings, which have more in them of thy mercie, then of mans cruelties or thy own justice.

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27. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SOnne, if theſe Papers, with ſome others, wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of My Conſcience, and My moſt impartiall thoughts, touching the chief paſſages, which have been moſt remarkable, or diſputed in My late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſigned; they may be ſo far uſefull to you, as to ſtate your judgement aright in what hath paſſed; whereof, a pious is the beſt uſe can be made; and they may alſo give you ſome directions, how to remedy the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is ſome kind of deceiving and leſſening the injury of my long reſtraint, when I find My leiſure and ſolitude have produced ſomething worthy of My ſelf, and uſefull to you; That neither you, nor any other, may hereafter meaſure my Cauſe by the Succeſſe; nor my Judgement of things by my misfortunes; which I count the greater by farre, becauſe they have ſo farre lighted upon you, and ſome others, whom I have moſt cauſe to love as well as my ſelf; and of whoſe unmerited ſufferings I have a greater ſenſe then of mine own.

But this advantage of wiſedome you have above moſt Princes; that you have begun,

and

and now ſpent ſome years of diſcretion, in the experience of troubles, and exerciſe of patience, wherein Piety, and all Virtues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving (as trees ſet in winter) then in the warmth, and ſerenity of times; or amidſt thoſe delights, which uſually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Virtue and Honour; or to be contented onely with ſome leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, ſuch as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes ſhould alwayes remember they are born and by providence deſigned.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Reheboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flouriſhing Kingdome, the other ſoftned by the unparaleld proſperity of *Solomons* Court; and ſo corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, anp Kingdome, by thoſe flatteries, which are as unſeparable from proſperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in ſummer, whom adverſity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you ſhould be *Charles le Bon*, then *le Grand*, good, then great; I hope God hath deſigned you to be both, having ſo early

put you into that exerciſe of his Graces, and gifts beſtowed upon you, which may beſt weed out all vicious inclinations, and diſpoſe you to thoſe Princely endowments, and employments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign diſpoſer of the Kingdomes of the world, who pulleth down one, and ſetteth up another.

The beſt Government, and higheſt Soveraignty you can attain to is, to be ſubject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes conſiſts in advancing Gods Glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Alſo in the diſpenſation of civill Power, with Juſtice and Honour to the publick Peace.

Piety will make you proſperous; at leaſt it will keep you from being miſerable; nor is he much a loſer, that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his own ſoul at laſt.

To which Centre of true Happineſſe God, I truſt, hath and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of Affliction, which he hath been pleaſed to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himſelf. You have already taſted of that cup whereof I have

have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Phyſick, having that in healthfulneſſe which it wants in pleaſure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already; wel-grounded and ſettled in your Religion: The beſt profeſſion of which, I have ever eſteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated; yet I would have your own Judgement and Reaſon now ſeal to that ſacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciouſly your own Religion, and not other mens cuſtome or tradition, which you profeſſe.

In this I charge you to perſevere, as coming neareſt to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with ſome little amendment, which I have otherwhere expreſſed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more neceſſary for your ſouls then your Kingdomes peace, when God ſhall bring you to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Devil of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights; When ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, the cry out Zeal.

So

So that, unleſſe in this point You be well ſettled you ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy you & yours, under pretenſions of reforming matters of Religion; for that ſeems, even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſigns.

Where, beſides the Novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward on an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, whereto they are conſcious by a ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the Church well ſettled; your partiall adhering, as head, to any one ſide, gains you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loſeth you in others; who think themſelves, and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by you: Take ſuch a courſe as may either with calmneſſe and charitie quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartialitie, or ſo order affairs in point of Power that you ſhall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their courteſie, you are undone: The Ser-

pent

pent will devour the Dove: you may never expect leſſe of loyalty, juſtice, or humanity, than, from thoſe, who engage into religious Rebellion; Their intereſt is alwaies made Gods; under the colours of Piety ambitious policies march, not onely with greateſt ſecurity, but applauſe, as to the populacy; you may heare from them *Jacobs* voice, but you ſhall feel they have *Eſaus* hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſſe conſiderable than the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many years; ſo compliant they were to publick order: nor indeed was their Party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgements: But as ſoon as diſcontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the diſaffected part, which cauſes inflamations) ſo did all, at firſt, who affected any novelties adhere to that Side, as the moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Maſter: till time and military ſucceſſe diſcovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part ſtakes, & leaving the joynt ſtock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking & undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Preſbyterie it ſelf, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have ingroſſed all.

Let

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to you in matters which concern Religion and the Churches peace, ſo as to neglect a ſpeedy reforming and effectuall ſuppreſſing Errours and Schiſmes, which ſeem at firſt but as a handbredth, by ſeditious Spirits, as by ſtrong winds are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done juſtice to God, your own ſoul and his Church, in the profeſſion and preſervation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your proſperity will depend, and move, is, that of civil Juſtice, wherein the ſettled Laws of theſe Kingdomes, to which you are rightly Heir, are the moſt excellent rules you can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects induſtry, liberty, and happineſſe; and yet reſerve enough to the Majeſty and prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whoſe ſubjection, as it preſerves their property, peace, and ſafety, ſo it will never diminiſh your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which conſiſts in the enjoyment of the fruits of their induſtry, and the benefit of thoſe Laws to which themſelves have conſented.

Never charge your Head with ſuch a Crown, as ſhall by its heavineſſe oppreſſe the whole body, the weakneſſe of whoſe parts cannot

not return any thing of ſtrength, honour, or ſafety, to the Head, but a neceſſary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed, and exerciſed in remitting, rather then exacting the rigour of the Laws; there being nothing worſe than legall Tyranny.

In theſe two points, the preſervation of eſtabliſhed Religion, and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproch of My ſufferings, as to the worlds cenſure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the teſtimony of My own Conſcience; The Troublers of My Kingdomes having nothing elſe to object againſt Me but this, That I preferre Religion, and Laws eſtabliſhed before thoſe alterations they propounded.

And ſo indeed I do, and ever ſhall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly uſed towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learn that leſſon, nor I hope ever will you, That it is ſafe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Lawes, in which is wrapt up the publique Intereſt, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with Me, as to the removall of theſe preſſures, & indignities, which his juſtice by the very unjuſt hands of ſome of My Subjects, hath been pleaſed to lay upon Me,

Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much ſolicitous what wrong I ſuffer from men, while I retain in My ſoul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience I can; reſerving onely what I cannot conſent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soul, the Church, and My People, and to You alſo, as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are inſuperable, ſhall in his due time after My deceaſe bring You, as I hope he will; My counſell and charge to You, is, That You ſeriouſly conſider the former, reall, are objected miſcarriages, which might occaſion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repoſe ſo much upon any mans ſingle counſell, fidelity, and diſcretion, in managing affairs of the firſt magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Juſtice) as to create in Your ſelf, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgement, which is likely to be alwaies more conſtant and impartiall to the intereſts of Your Crown and Kingdome than any mans.

Next, beware of exaſperating any Factions by the croſneſſe, and aſperity of ſome mens paſſions, humours, or private opinions, imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences

orences in leſſer matters, which are but the kirts and ſuburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Chriſtian toleration often diſſipates their ſtrength, whome rougher oppoſition fortifies: and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed party, into ſuch Combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their Perſecutors, who are commonly aſſiſted by that vulger commiſeration, which attends all, that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an inſolent oppoſition of Laws, and Government, or Religion eſtabliſhed, as to the eſſentials of them, ſuch motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up ſolid piety, and thoſe fundamentall Truths (which mend both Hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and Juſtice.

Take heed that outward circumſtances and formalities of Religion devoure not all, or the beſt incouragements of learning, induſtry, and piety; but with an equall eye and impartiall hand, diſtribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodneſſe both in abilities and fidelities worthy and capable of them.

This will be ſure to gaine you the hearts of

the best, and the most too: who though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer waies of virtue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, You see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions; (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in any conformity to the Lawes established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Lawes, and to Me) and are secured from that feare, but they are divided to so high a rivarly, as sets them more at defiance against each other, than against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all factions, when once the rough hornes of private mens covetous and ambitious designes, shall discover themselves, which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolfe is not lesse cruell, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appeare no better than a Wolfe under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the seduced Traine of the Vulger, who in their simpliciry follow those disguises, My charge and councell to you, is That as you need no palliations for any designes, (as other men) so that you study really to exceed [in true and constant demonstrations

tions of goodneſſe, piety, and vertue, towards the People) even all thoſe men, that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion; ſo you ſhall neither feare any detection, (as they doe, who have but the face and maſk of goodneſſe) nor ſhall you fruſtrate the juſt expectations of your people; who cannot in Reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous conſtancy of their King.

When theſe mountaines of congealed factions ſhall by the ſunſhine of Gods mercy, and the ſplendor of your virtues be thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, that none are greater Oppreſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties, and Conſciences, than thoſe men, that entitle themſelves, The Patrons and vindicators of them, onely to uſurp power over them: Let then no paſſion betray you, to any ſtudy of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe owne ſinne and folly will ſufficiently puniſh them upon ſi time.

But as ſoone as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawne out, uſe all princely arts, and clemency to heale the wounds; that the ſmart of the cure may not equall the anguiſh of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of *Indempnity*, and Oblivion, to ſo great a latitude, as may in-

clude all, that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might ſerve to exclude all future jealouſies and inſecuriti s.

I would have you alwaies propenſe to the ſame way, when ever it ſhall be deſired and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an Act of State-policy and neceſsity, but of Chriſtian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left me, a power to forgive thoſe that have deprived me of all; and I thanke God, I have a heart to do it, and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to me, then any proſperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the moſt of all ſides, who have done amiſſe, have done ſo, not out of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-apprehenſion of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to me and you, than thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of their Errours, and our Injuries, will feele in their owne Soules moſt vehement motives to repentance, and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects

As your quality ſets you beyond any Duell with any Subject, ſo the Nobleneſſe of your mind muſt raiſe you above the meditating

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any revenge, or executing your anger upon the many.

The more conscious you shall be to your owne merits, upon your people, the more prone you will be to expect all love and loyalty from them, and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscariages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of Gods mercy, and my Subjects affections towards you, both which, I hope you will study to deserve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his owne mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore me, and you after me, to those enjoyments, which the Laws have assigned to us, and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sinne can devest us of, then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see you in peace, to let you more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, your own honour and the Kingdomes peace.

But if you never see my face againe, and God will have me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscurity, [which the perfecting some mens designs require] wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchang a word, or a look with Me, I doe require and entreat you as your Father, and your KING

that you never ſuffer your heart to receive the leaſt check againſt or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*.

I tell you *I* have tried it, and after much ſearch, and many diſputes, have concluded it to be the beſt in the world, not onely in the Community, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpeciall notion, as Reformed, keeping the middle way between the pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyranny, and the meanneſſe of fantaſtique Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the maine, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) ſome lines, as in very good figures, may happily need ſome ſweetning, or poliſhing, which might here have eaſily been done by a ſafe and gentle hand: if ſome mens precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude alterations, as would have quite deſtroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The ſcandall of the late Troubles, which ſome may object, and urge to you againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily anſwered to them, or your owne thoughts in this, That ſcarce any one who hath beene a Beginner, or an active Proſecutor of this late Warre againſt the Church, the Lawes, and me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer,

Embracer, or Practiſer of the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither gives ſuch rule, nor ever before ſet ſuch examples.

'Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldneſſe to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame Faction (but of worſe Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and diſorderly Zeale abate your value and eſteem of true piety, both of them are to be knowne by their fruits, the ſweetneſſe of the Wine & Figtree is not to be deſpiſed, though the Brambles and Thornes ſhould pretend to beare Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertaine any averſation, or diſlike of Parliaments, which in their right conſtitution with Freedome and honour, will never injure or diminiſh your greatneſſe, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince and his people.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have beene other than ſuch [however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections] if it had beene preſerved from the inſolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impreſſions: The ſad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerve that freedome, and Honour,

which belongs to such Assemblies when once they have fully shaken off this yoak of Vulgar encroachment] since the publique interest consists in the mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in faire, grave, and Honourable wayes to contribute their Councels in Common, enacting all things by publique consent; without Tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholsome food.

And if neither I, nor you, be ever restored to our Rights, but God in his severest justice, will punish My Subjects with continuance in their sinne, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickednesse; I hope God will give Me and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crow, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, You shall never want a Kingdom.

A Principle Point of your honour will consist in your deferring all respect, love, and protection to your Mother, My Wife; who hath many wayes deserved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that [having beene a means to

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bleſſe me with ſo many hopefull Children; (all which, with their mother; I recommend to your love and care) ſhee hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to ſuffer both for, and with me, and you.

My prayer to God almighty is, (what ever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in my own innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleaſed to make you an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdomes; a Repairer by your wiſdome, juſtice, piety, and valour, of what the folly and wickedneſſe of ſome men have ſo farre ruined, as to leave nothing intire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience or lives.

When they have deſtroyed Me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of my Enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given me) as I doubt not but my blood will cry aloud for vengeance to Heaven: ſo I beſeech God not to power out his wrath upon the generality of the people, who have either deſerted me, or engaged againſt me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders, whoſe inward horrour will be their

first Tormenter, nor will they escape exemplary judgements.

For those that loved me, I pray God, they may have no misse of Me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian KING, so I believe you will find them truly Zealous, to repay with interest that loyalty and love to you, which was due to me.

In summe, what good I intended, doe you performe; when God shall give you power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soone vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace, This maske of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since my Restraint and cruell usage, that they sought not for me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times I hope, attend you, wherein your Subjects [by their miseries] will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.

I pray God blesse you & establish your Kingdomes in righteousnesse, your Soule in true Religion, and your honour in the love of God and your people.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by my destruction; let my memory ever, with my name, live in you; as of your Father, that loves you, and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdomes; whom God thought fit to honour, not only with the *Scepter* and government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Lawes, the honour of my Crowne, the priviledge of Parliaments, the Liberties of my People, and my owne Conscience, which, I thank *GOD*, is dearer to me than a thousand Kingdomes.

I know *God* can, I hope he yet will restore me to my Rights. I cannot despaire either of his mercy, or of my peoples love and pity.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before you to a better Kingdome, which *God* hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend you and all mine.

Farewell, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-addresses, and his Majesties closer Imprisonment in Carisbrooke-castle.

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more then enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for my Death: for I know, there are but few steps betweene the Prisons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence which gives me the space, but Mans cruelty that gives me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon me, as a Man; I now beare the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies, and cruell passions, whose envy or enmity against Me, makes their own lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of mine.

I thanke God, my prosperity made me not wholly a stranger to the contemplations of mortality.

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertaine: Death being an eclipse, which

which oft happineth as well in clear as clowdy dayes.

But my now long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in Me those naturall Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that *I* thanke God, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and the speciall horrour of it, as to My particular much allayed: for, although my death at present may justly be represented to me with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it (affaires being drawn to the very drags of malice) yet I blesse God, *I* can look upon all those stings, as unpoysonous, though sharpe; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the antidote of his Death against them; which as to the immaturity, injustice, shame, scorne, and cruelty of it exceeded, what ever I can feare.

Indeed, I never did find so much, the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of *Death*.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either affraid to dye, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make me sometime even desire to dye; if *I* did not consider, That it is the greatest glory

glory of Christians life to *die dayly*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partiall and quotidian deaths, which kills us (as it were) by piecemeales, and make us overlive our owne fates; while We are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate; and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My self to live in nothing temporall so much, as in the love and good-will of My People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and Loyalty, which is in my Subjects; and then all that content of life in me, which from these I cheefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from me; having bereaved me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O my Soule! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to doe, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in

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a good Cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths

I know that in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimity to desire to dye out of wearinesse of life, and a want of that heroick greatnesse of Spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shaddowes necessarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are lessned or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher, or lower: whose total absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampsons* Lyon, but they yeild much sweetnesse to those, that dare encounter and overcome them; who know how to over live the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishnesse, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of my owne Subjects, a violent, sodain, barbarous death; in the strength of my years, in the midst of my Kingdoms; my Freinds and loving Subjects being helplesse Spectators; my Enemyes insolent Revilers and Triumphers over me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught me not to hope

otherwise, as to mans cruelty; however, *I* despaire not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know my life is the Object of the Devills & wicked mens malice, but yet under Gods sole custody and disposall: whome I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die; but I humbly desire to depend upon him & to submit to his will both in life & death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to me. I confesse it is not easy for me to contend with those many horrours of death, wherewith God suffers me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the suddennesse of a barbarous Assassination; or in those greater formalities, whereby my Enemies [being more solemnly cruell] will, it may be, seeke to adde [as those did who Crucified Christ] the mockery of Iustice, to the cruelty of malice: That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with lesse pity, it will be but a necessary policy to make my death appeare as an act of Iustice, done by Subjects upon their Soveraigne, who know that no Law of God or Man invests them with any power of Iudicature without me, much lesse against me: and who, being sworn, and bound by all that is sacred before God and man, to endeavour my preservation, must pretend Iustice to cover their perjury.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his

his Enemies to be Accuſers, Parties, and Judges; but moſt deſperate, when this is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Soveraigne; wherein thoſe, who have had the cheifeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of contriving the publique Troubles, muſt by ſhedding my blood ſeem to waſh their own hands of that innocent bloud whereof they are now moſt evidently guilty before God and Man; and I beleive in their own Conſciences too, while they carried on unreaſonable Demands; Frſt by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes meane ſpirits more toward y-cruell in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawfull Superiours than this, the *Guilt of their unjuſt Uſurpation:* notwithſtanding thoſe ſpecious and popular pretentions of Juſtice againſt *Delinquents* applyed only to diſguize at firſt the monſtrouſneſſe of their deſigns, who deſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſſing the power and profits of the Vineyeard, till the heire whoſe right it is, be caſt out and ſlaine.

With them my greateſt fault muſt be, that I would not either deſtroy My ſelfe with the Church and State by my Word, or not ſuffer them to doe it unreſiſted by the Sword; whoſe covetous ambition no Conceſsions of Mine could ever yet either ſatisfy, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdome of brambles which ſome men ſeeke

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to erect (at once, weak, sharpe, and fruitlesse, either to God or man) is like to thrive til watered with the Royall bloud of those, whose right the Kingdome is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but my Innocency will find him both my protectour, and my Advocate who is my onely Iudge, whom I owne as King of Kings, not only for the eminency of his power and *Majesty* above them; but also for that singular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patrones of Law, Iustice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either *Men* or Devills; which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of my death amongst themselves: the iniuryes I have sustained from them shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing me,

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of my bloud, shall make them think no way better to expiate it, then by shedding theirs, who with them, most thirsted after mine.

The sad confusions following my destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to

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me by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince my troubles; in which, God alone who onely could) hath many wayes pleaded my cauſe; not ſuffering them to go unpuniſhed whoſe confederacy in ſinne was their only ſecurity; who have cauſe to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of Death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallow'd up Death in the Victory of his Reſurrection, and the glory of his Aſcenſion.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not only the honour to imitate his example in ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake[though obſcurd by the fouleſt charges of Tyranny and *Injuſtice*) but alſo, that charity, wch is the nobleſt revenge upon, and victory over my *Deſtroyers*: By which, *I* thank God, *I* can both forgive them and pray for them, that *God* would not impute my bloud to them, further then to convince them, what need they have of *Chriſts* bloud to waſh their ſoules from the guilt of ſhedding mine.

At preſent, the will of my Enemies ſeemes to be their only rule, their power the meaſure, and their Succeſſe the Exactor, of what they pleaſe to call *Juſtice*, while they flatter themſelves with the fancie of their own ſafety by my daunger, and the ſecurity of their lives deſignes

signes by my death: forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sinne are wrapped up in seeming prosperities, so the severest vengeances of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes.

I blesse God, I Pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may passe from me, as that of his wrath may pass from all those, whose hands by deserting me, are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to my death are embrued with my bloud.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengance.

This I think becomes a Christian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive me of more then I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from me; whose mercy I beleive, will more then infinetly recompence what ever by mans injustice, he is pleased to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death will farre surpasse all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavy and envyed Crownes of this world, when my God hath mercifully Crowned and Consummated his graces with Glory, and exchanged the shadows of my earthly Kingdomes among men, for

for the ſubſtance of that Heavenly Kingdome with himſelfe,

For the cenſures of the world; I know the ſharpe and neceſſary tyranny of my Deſtroyers will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny againſt me; I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of my Subjects, who doe not only pity and pray for me, but would be content even to dy with me, or for me.

Theſe know how to excuſe my failings; as a man, and yet to retaine and pay their duty to me as their King; there being no religious neceſſity binding any Subjects by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceed, the faults and errours of their Prince; eſpecially there, where more then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath beene made to the publike; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I believe, of ſofter tempers, and leſſe advantaged by my ruine, doe already feel ſharpe convictions, and ſome remorſe in their conſciences: where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evill dealings againſt mee in the meaſure of Gods retaliations upon them who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails bin ſo cruell as to cut off their cheifeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and

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obstinat may be like that of *Korah* & his complices (at once mutining against both Prince & Preist) in such a method of divine justice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the lowest and meanest people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdaine of their ill-gotten and worse used Authority: upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against me, the Church and State.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in my peace, which I trust, is made with God; before whose exact Tribunal I shall not feare to appear, as to the Cause so long disputed by the Sword, between me and my cauſeleſſe Enemies, where I doubt not but his righteous judgment will confute their fallacy, who from worldly successe (rather like Sophisters, than sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions; whose wise providence (we know) oft permits many events which his revealed word [the only cleare, safe and fixed rule of good actions and good consciences] in no sort approves.

I am confident the Justice of my Cause, and clearnes of my Conscience before God and toward my people wil carry me, as much above them in Gods decision, as their successes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion who

who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousnesse and oppression of the designe. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sayles of Pyrats, doth not 'justifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content & quiet of Soule, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Lawes of the Land, the freedome and honour of Parliaments; the rights of my Crowne, the just liberty of my Subiects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of successe, overborn them all; as some men have now evidently done, whatever designes they at first pretended,

The prayers and patience of my Freinds and loving Subiects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more cheerefully take, and drink it from Gods hand (if it must be so) than they can give it me, whose hands ae unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to my Enemies than my Freinds; while those will put a period to the sinnes and sorrows attending this miserable life where-

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with these desire, I might still contend.

I shall be more then Conquerour through Christ enabling me: for whome I have hither-to suffered: as he is the Author of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend against Error, Faction and confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death with my Saviour; it is but mortality crowned with martyrdome: where the debt of death, which I ow for sinne to nature, shall be raised, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and although Death be the wages of my own sinne, as from God, and the effect of other sinnes, as men, both against God and me; yet as I hope my own sinnes are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guilty of my destruction.

The Trophees of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill managed victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which, I pray God they may obtaine: that my temporall Death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternall death upon them: for I

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look upon the temporall deſtruction of the greateſt King, as far leſſe deprecable, than the eternall damnation of the meaneſt Subject.

Nor do *I* wiſh other, than the ſafe bringing of the ſhip to ſhore, when they have caſt me overboard; though it be very ſtrange, that Mariners can find no other means to appeaſe the ſtorm, themſelves have raiſed, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whoſe malice in this I ſhall defeat, that they ſhall not have the ſatisfaction to have deſtroyed my Soul with my Body; of vvhoſe ſalvation, vvhile ſome of them have themſelves ſeemed, and taught others to deſpair, they have onely diſcover'd this, that they do not much deſire it.

Whoſe uncharitable and cruell Reſtraints, denying me even the aſſiſtance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, than any vvay obſtructed my acceſſe to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwelleſt, O King of Kings; who filleſt Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of eternall life, in whom is no ſhadow of death.

Thou O God art both the juſt Afflicter of death upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee; than by living in our selves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy special graces and comforts in my Soul, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither fear nor feel any evil, though I walk through the vallie of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortall man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almightie and immortall God.

O My Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to die with Me, as a Man; make Me to know what it is to paſſe through death to life with thee My God.

Though I die, yet I know, that thou my Redeemer liveſt for ever: though thou ſlaieſt me, yet thou haſt incouraged Me to truſt in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not farre from me for I know not how near a violent and cruell death is to me.

As thy Omniſcience, O God, diſcovers, ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the deſigns of thoſe, who have, or ſhall conſpire my deſtruction.

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O ſhew me the goodneſſe of thy will, through the wickednoſſe of theirs.

Thou giveſt me leave as a man to pray that this cup may paſſe from me; but thou haſt taught Me as a Chriſtian by the example of Chriſt to adde, not My will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly reſolving mine into thine; let not the deſire of life in me be ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou haſt forgiven all the errours of my life, ſo I hope thou wilt ſave me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who haſt made Chriſt unto me in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Though my Deſtroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their gaining my Kingdoms, if they loſe their own Souls?

Such as have not onely reſiſted my juſt Power, but wholly uſurped and turned it againſt my ſelf, though they may deſerve, yet let them not receive to themſelves damnation.

Thou madeſt thy Sonne a Saviour to many

that Crucified Him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for My murtherers, louder than the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their sin, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying me, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so very cruell; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deal not with them as bloud-thirsty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for My bloud, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Souls with the bloud of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdomes on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdome of thy infinite mercy at last receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the bloud

of the ſame Redeemer, we ſhall live far above theſe ambitious deſires, which beget ſuch mortall enmities.

When their hands ſhall be heavieſt, and cruelleſt upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternall mercies.

That what is cut off of my life in this miſerable moment, may be repaied in thy ever-bleſſed eternity.

Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

FINIS.